*Attack on Dr. Barth and the Sheikh el Bakáy at their Camp near Timbúktu.*—(See p. 452.)

(FRONTISPIECE.)

# Travels and Discoveries

IN

# NORTH AND CENTRAL AFRICA.

FROM THE

## Journal of an Expedition

UNDERTAKEN

UNDER THE AUSPICES OF H. B. M.'S GOVERNMENT,

IN THE YEARS

1849—1855.

BY

HENRY BARTH, PH. D., D. C. L.,

FELLOW OF THE ROYAL GEOGRAPHICAL AND ASIATIC SOCIETIES, ETC. ETC.

WITH

NOTES AND EXTRACTS FROM MR. RICHARDSON'S ACCOUNT OF THE EXPEDITION, AND A SKETCH OF DENHAM AND CLAPPERTON'S EXPEDITION,

BY

THE AMERICAN EDITOR.

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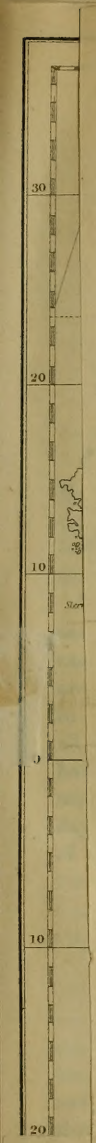
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GENERAL SKETCH
of
AFRICA.
Showing the
ROUTES of Dr. BARTH'S TRAVELS
1850 – 1855.
Dr. Barth's Routes 1850 – 1855.
Region over which Dr. Barth's researches and inquiries extend.
Dr. Livingston's Routes 1841 – 1856.
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
TRIPOLI
FEZZAN
Country of the Arabs and Moors
Country of the Imóshagh or Tawarek
Country of the Tedá or Tebú
KANEM
Lake Tsád
WÁDÁY
DÁRFÚR
BAGIRMI
BORNU
SONGHAY
GANDO
Sokoto
Kanó
Timbúktu or Tumbutu
GHANATA
MELLE
BAMBABA
MOSI
WANGARA
Independent Pagan tribes
B. of Benin
Tropic of Cancer
RED SEA
Persian Gulf
Cairo
Tripoli
Malta
Algiers
Morocco
Khartum
Nile
Aden
Mombas
Zanzibar
Kilwa
Mozambique
MADAGASCAR
Quilimane 1856
Tete
Zumbo
Zambeze
Sesheke 1851
L. Ngami 1849
Kalahari Desert
Kolobeng 1847
Kuruman 1841
Orange R.
Cape Town
Port Natal
Delagoa B.
Inhambane
Limpopo
Loanda 1854
Congo or Zaire
Lake Uniamesi
Nyassa
Walvisch Bay
Fernando Po
Cassange
Tropic of Cancer
Ancient kingdom of GHANATA
Agades
Zinder
Katsena
Yakoba
Benuwe
Kwara
Mosgu
Kúkawa
Lunda or Lucenda
ATLANTIC OCEAN
INDIAN OCEAN

# ADVERTISEMENT OF THE PUBLISHER.

The extraordinary success of the cheap and popular edition of Dr. Livingston's Travels in South Africa, has suggested to the publisher the propriety of issuing a similar edition of Dr. Barth's Travels in North Central Africa, as a suitable companion and supplement to the former work.

The English edition of Dr. Barth's Travels fills five octavo volumes, and the cost is between twenty-five and thirty dollars. The author's reasons for issuing the work in this voluminous and expensive form are readily seen. His favorite object is the advancement of discovery in Africa; and wishing to render his work as useful as possible to all future travellers in the regions which he visited, he appears to have published the greater part of his entire journal for a period of more than five years. In it are noticed the incidents of travel from day to day and from week to week, with rather minute descriptions of monuments, mountains, rivers, deserts, rocks, and trees seen on the route, as well as the important transactions of the expedition, and the accounts of great cities and nations, their manners, customs, costumes, religion, government, finances, commerce, laws, &c.

Now, for the travellers who are to succeed Dr. Barth, and for scientific inquirers, this minute journal is exactly what is wanted; and such persons can well afford to pay for it. But with the general reading public it is quite the reverse. The general reader desires to know where Dr. Barth went, what new discoveries he made, what he saw, what dangers, difficulties, perils, and adventures he went through, and what, on the whole, was accomplished by the expedition; but, on the other hand, ordinary readers are not willing for this purpose to pay twenty-five or thirty dollars and wade through five octavo volumes of journal and itinerary, such as future travellers in Africa and scientific inquirers will most desire.

To meet the public demand for a more concise account of Dr. Barth's Travels, this volume has been prepared. It gives almost entirely in the author's own words all the really important and interesting portion of his journal; and omits uninteresting details. It also comprises extracts from Mr. Richardson's journal of the expedition, and a brief notice of the discoveries of Denham and Clapperton.

In this form it will be found an exceedingly entertaining and instructive book. The readers of Dr. Livingstone's travels will recollect that his researches extended, chiefly among pagan nations, across South Central Africa, to within eight degrees south of the equator. Dr. Barth's researches extended over a considerable portion of North Central Africa, to within eight degrees north of the equator, and his intercourse was with Mohammedans and pagans — the former being the predominant power. With many points of similarity, there are very striking points of difference in the two works. Dr. Livingstone for the most part was alone among pagan savages, Dr. Barth had companions and attendants, and his intercourse was chiefly with Mohammedans living in great cities and possessed of a certain amount of learning and civilization.

Dr. Livingstone was a Scotch physician and missionary who had long resided in Africa, and had some knowledge of African languages and of natural science, and he undertook his wonderful journey on his own responsibility. Dr. Barth was a German scholar, a great linguist and antiquarian, who had travelled already in Africa, and was attached to a public expedition under the British government, led by Mr. Richardson at the outset, but after Mr. Richardson's death, completed by himself. Both Livingstone and Barth exhibited the most extraordinary courage, perseverance, presence of mind, and contempt of danger and of death. Both made additions to our knowledge of Interior Africa, which are universally recognised as of immense importance to the future well-being of Africa as well as to the advancement of the world's commerce, and the interests of humanity. The two works should be read in succession.

# PREFACE.

On the 5th of October, 1849, at Berlin, Professor Carl Ritter informed me that the British government was about to send Mr. Richardson on a mission to Central Africa, and that they had offered, through the Chevalier Bunsen, to allow a German traveller to join the mission, provided he was willing to contribute two hundred pounds for his own personal travelling expenses.

I had commenced lecturing at the University of Berlin on comparative geography and the colonial commerce of antiquity, and had just at that time published the first volume of my "Wanderings round the Mediterranean," which comprised my journey through Barbary. Having undertaken this journey quite alone, I spent nearly my whole time with the Arabs, and familiarized myself with that state of human society where the camel is man's daily companion, and the culture of the date-tree his chief occupation. I made long journeys through desert tracts; I travelled all around the Great Syrtis, and, passing through the picturesque little tract of Cyrenaica, traversed the whole country toward Egypt; I wandered about for above a month in the desert valleys between Aswán and Kosér, and afterward pursued my journey by land all the way through Syria and Asia Minor to Constantinople.

While traversing these extensive tracts, where European comfort is never altogether out of reach, where lost supplies may be easily replaced, and where the protection of European powers is not quite without avail, I had often cast a wistful look toward those unknown or little-known regions in the interior, which stand in frequent, though irregular connection with

the coast. As a lover of ancient history, I had been led toward those regions rather through the commerce of ancient Carthage than by the thread of modern discovery, and the desire to know something more about them acted on me like a charm. In the course of a conversation I once held with a Háusa slave in Káf, in the regency of Tunis, he, seeing the interest I took in his native country, made use of the simple but impressive words, "Please God, you shall go and visit Kanó." These words were constantly ringing in my ears; and though overpowered for a time by the vivid impressions of interesting and picturesque countries, they echoed with renewed intensity as soon as I was restored to the tranquillity of European life.

During my three years' travelling I had ample opportunity of testing the efficacy of British protection; I experienced the kindness of all her Britannic majesty's consuls from Tangiers to Brúsa, and often enjoyed their hospitality. It was solely their protection which enabled me to traverse with some degrec of security those more desert tracts through which I wandered. Colonel Warrington, her majesty's consul in Tripoli, who seems to have had some presentiment of my capabilities as an African explorer, even promised me his full assistance if I should try to penetrate into the interior. Besides this, my admiration of the wide extension of the British over the globe, their influence, their language, and their government, was such that I felt a strong inclination to become the humble means of carrying out their philanthropic views for the progressive civilization of the neglected races of Central Africa.

Under these circumstances, I volunteered cheerfully to accompany Mr. Richardson, on the sole condition, however, that the exploration of Central Africa should be made the principal object of the mission, instead of a secondary one, as had been originally contemplated.

In the mean time, while letters were interchanged between Berlin, London, and Paris (where Mr. Richardson at that time resided), my father, whom I had informed of my design, entreated me to desist from my perilous undertaking with an ear-

nestness which my filial duty did not allow me to resist; and giving way to Dr. Overweg, who in youthful enthusiasm came immediately forward to volunteer, I receded from my engagement. But it was too late, my offer having been officially accepted in London; and I therefore allayed my father's anxiety, and joined the expedition.

It was a generous act of Lord Palmerston, who organized the expedition, to allow two foreign gentlemen to join it instead of one. A sailor was besides attached to it; and a boat was also provided, in order to give full scope to the object of exploration. The choice of the sailor was unfortunate, and Mr. Richardson thought it best to send him back from Múrzuk; but the boat, which was carried throughout the difficult and circuitous road by Múrzuk, Ghát, Aïr, and Zínder, exciting the wonder and astonishment of all the tribes in the interior, ultimately reached its destination, though the director of the expedition himself had in the meanwhile unfortunately succumbed.

Government also allowed us to take out arms. At first it had been thought that the expedition ought to go unarmed, inasmuch as Mr. Richardson had made his first journey to Ghát without arms. But on that occasion he had gone as a private individual, without instruments, without presents, without anything; and we were to unite with the character of an expedition that of a mission — that is to say, we were to explore the country while endeavoring at the same time to establish friendship with the chiefs and rulers of the different territories. It may be taken for granted that we should never have crossed the frontier of Aïr had we been unarmed; and when I entered upon my journey alone, it would have been impossible for me to proceed without arms through countries which are in a constant state of war, where no chief or ruler can protect a traveller except with a large escort, which is sure to run away as soon as there is any real danger.

It may be possible to travel without arms in some parts of Southern Africa; but there is this wide difference, that the natives of the latter are exclusively Pagans, while, along all

those tracts which I have been exploring, Islamism and Paganism are constantly arrayed against each other in open or secret warfare, even if we leave out of view the unsafe state of the roads through large states consisting, though loosely connected together, of almost independent provinces. The traveller in such countries must carry arms; yet he must exercise the utmost discretion in using them. As for myself, I avoided giving offence to the men with whom I had to deal in peaceful intercourse, endeavoring to attach them to me by esteem and friendship. I have never proceeded onward without leaving a sincere friend behind me, and thus being sure that, if obliged to retrace my steps, I might do so with safety.

But I have more particular reason to be grateful for the opinion entertained of me by the British government; for after Mr. Richardson had, in March, 1851, fallen a victim to the noble enterprise to which he had devoted his life, her majesty's government honored me with their confidence, and in authorizing me to carry out the objects of the expedition, placed sufficient means at my disposal for the purpose. The position in which I was thus placed must be my excuse for undertaking, after the successful accomplishment of my labors, the difficult task of relating them in a language not my own.

In matters of science and humanity all nations ought to be united by one common interest, each contributing its share in proportion to its own peculiar disposition and calling If I have been able to achieve something in geographical discovery, it is difficult to say how much of it is due to English, how much to German influence; for science is built up of the materials collected by almost every nation, and, beyond all doubt, in geographical enterprise in general none has done more than the English, while, in Central Africa in particular, very little has been achieved by any but English travellers. Let it not, therefore, be attributed to an undue feeling of nationality if I correct any error of those who preceded me. It would be unpardonable if a traveller failed to penetrate further, or to obtain a clearer insight into the customs and the polity of the nations visited by him, or if he were unable to delineate the country

with greater accuracy and precision than those who went before him.

Every succeeding traveller is largely indebted to the labors of his predecessor. Thus our expedition would never have been able to achieve what it did, if Oudney, Denham, and Clapperton had not gone before us; nor would these travellers have succeeded so far, had Lyon and Ritchie not opened the road to Fezzán; nor would Lyon have been able to reach Tejérri, if Captain (now Rear Admiral) Smyth had not shown the way to Ghírza. To Smyth, seconded by Colonel Warrington, is due the merit of having attracted the attention of the British government to the favorable situation of Tripoli for facilitating intercourse with Central Africa; and if at present the river-communication along the Tsádda or Bénuwé seems to hold out a prospect of an easier approach to those regions, the importance of Tripoli must not be underrated, for it may long remain the most available port from which a steady communication with many parts of that continent can be kept up.

I had the good fortune to see my discoveries placed on a stable basis before they were brought to a close, by the astronomical observations of Dr. Vogel, who was sent out by her Britannic majesty's government for the purpose of joining the expedition; and I have only to regret that this gentleman was not my companion from the beginning of my journey, as exact astronomical observations, such as he has made, are of the utmost importance in any geographical exploration. By moving the generally-accepted position of Kúkawa more than a degree to the westward, the whole map of the interior has been changed very considerably. The position assigned by Dr. Vogel to Zínder gives to the whole western route, from Ghát through the country of A'sben, a well-fixed terminating point, while at the same time it serves to check my route to Timbúktu. If, however, this topic be left out of consideration, it will be found that the maps made by me on the journey, under many privations, were a close approximation to the truth. But now all that pertains to physical features and geo-

graphical position has been laid down, and executed with artistic skill and scientific precision, by Dr. Peterman.

The principal merit which I claim for myself in this respect is that of having noted the whole configuration of the country; and my chief object has been to represent the tribes and nations with whom I came in contact, in their historical and ethnographical relation to the rest of mankind, as well as in their physical relation to that tract of country in which they live. If, in this respect, I have succeeded in placing before the eyes of the public a new and animated picture, and connected those apparently savage and degraded tribes more intimately with the history of races placed on a higher level of civilization, I shall be amply recompensed for the toils and dangers I have gone through.

My companion, Dr. Overweg, was a clever and active young geologist; but, unfortunately, he was deficient in that general knowledge of natural science which is required for comprehending all the various phenomena occurring on a journey into unknown regions. Having never before risked his life on a dangerous expedition, he never for a moment doubted that it might not be his good fortune to return home in safety, and he therefore did not always bestow that care upon his journal which is so desirable in such an enterprise. Nevertheless, almost all his observations of latitude have been found correct, while his memoranda, if deciphered at leisure, might still yield a rich harvest.

One of the principal objects which her Britannic majesty's government had always in view in these African expeditions was the abolition of the slave-trade. This, too, was zealously advocated by the late Mr. Richardson, and, I trust, has been as zealously carried out by myself whenever it was in my power to do so, although, as an explorer on a journey of discovery, I was induced, after mature reflection, to place myself under the protection of an expeditionary army, whose object it was to subdue another tribe, and eventually to carry away a large proportion of the conquered into slavery. Now it should always be borne in mind that there is a broad distinction between the

slave-trade and domestic slavery. The foreign slave-trade may, comparatively speaking, be easily abolished, though the difficulty of watching over contraband attempts has been shown sufficiently by many years' experience. With the abolition of the slave-trade all along the northern and southwestern coast of Africa, slaves will cease to be brought down to the coast, and in this way a great deal of the mischief and misery necessarily resulting from this inhuman traffic will be cut off. But this, unfortunately, forms only a small part of the evil.

There can be no doubt that the most horrible topic connected with slavery is slave-hunting; and this is carried on, not only for the purpose of supplying the foreign market, but, in a far more extensive degree, for supplying the wants of domestic slavery. Hence it was necessary that I should become acquainted with the real state of these most important features of African society, in order to speak clearly about them; for with what authority could I expatiate on the horrors and the destruction accompanying such an expedition if I were not speaking as an eyewitness? But having myself accompanied such a host on a grand scale, I shall be able to lay before the public a picture of the cheerful comfort, as well as the domestic happiness, of a considerable portion of the human race, which, though in a low, is not at all in a degraded state of civilization, as well as the wanton and cruel manner in which this happiness is destroyed, and its peaceful abodes changed into desolation. Moreover, this very expedition afforded me the best opportunity of convincing the rulers of Bórnu of the injury which such a perverse system entails upon themselves.

But, besides this, it was of the utmost importance to visit the country of the Músgu; for while that region had been represented by the last expedition as an almost inaccessible mountain chain, attached to that group which Major Denham observed on his enterprising but unfortunate expedition with Bú-Khalúm, I convinced myself on my journey to A'damáwa, from the information which I gathered from the natives, that the mountains of Mándará are entirely insulated toward

the east. I considered it, therefore, a matter of great geographical importance to visit that country, which, being situated between the rivers Shárí and Bénuwé, could alone afford the proof whether there was any connection between these two rivers.

I shall have frequent occasion to refer, in my journal, to conversations which I had with the natives on religious subjects. I may say that I have always avowed my religion, and defended the pure principles of Christianity against those of Islám; only once was I obliged, for about a month: in order to carry out my project of reaching Timbúctu, to assume the character of a Moslim. Had I not resorted to this expedient, it would have been absolutely impossible to achieve such a project, since I was then under the protection of no chief whatever, and had to pass through the country of the fanatic and barbarous hordes of the Tawárek. But though, with this sole exception, I have never denied my character of a Christian, I thought it prudent to conform to the innocent prejudices of the people around me—adopting a dress which is at once better adapted to the climate and more decorous in the eyes of the natives. One great cause of my popularity was the custom of alms-giving. By this means I won the esteem of the natives, who took such a lively interest in my well-being that, even when I was extremely ill, they used to say, "'Abd el Kerím* shall not die."

Of the first part of our expedition there has already appeared the Narrative of the late Mr. Richardson, published from his manuscript journals, which I was fortunately able to send home from Kúkawa. It is full of minute incidents of travelling life, so very instructive to the general reader. But, from my point of view, I had to look very differently at the objects which presented themselves; and Mr. Richardson, if he had lived to work out his memoranda himself, would not have failed to give to his journal a more lasting interest. Moreover, my

* "'Abd el Kerím," meaning "Servant of the Merciful," was the name which I thought it prudent to adopt.

stay in A'gades afforded me quite a different insight into the life, the history, and geography of those regions, and brought me into contact with Timbúctu.

Extending over a tract of country of twenty-four degrees from north to south, and twenty degrees from east to west, in the broadest part of the continent of Africa, my travels necessarily comprise subjects of great interest and diversity.

After having traversed vast deserts of the most barren soil, and scenes of the most frightful desolation, I met with fertile lands irrigated by large navigable rivers and extensive central lakes, ornamented with the finest timber, and producing various species of grain, rice, sesamum, ground-nuts, in unlimited abundance, the sugar-cane, &c., together with cotton and indigo, the most valuable commodities of trade. The whole of Central Africa, from Bagírmi to the east as far as Timbúctu to the west (as will be seen in my narrative), abounds in these products. The natives of these regions not only weave their own cotton, but dye their home-made shirts with their own indigo. The river, the far-famed Niger, which gives access to these regions by means of its eastern branch, the Bénuwé, which I discovered, affords an uninterrupted navigable sheet of water for more than six hundred miles into the very heart of the country. Its western branch is obstructed by rapids at the distanee of about three hundred and fifty miles from the coast; but even at that point it is probably not impassable in the present state of navigation, while, higher up, the river opens an immense high-road for nearly one thousand miles into the very heart of Western Africa, so rich in every kind of produce.

The same diversity of soil and produce which the regions traversed by me exhibit, is also observed with respect to man. Starting from Tripoli in the north, we proceed from the settlements of the Arab and the Berber, the poor remnants of the vast empires of the middle ages, into a country dotted with splendid ruins from the period of the Roman dominion, through the wild roving hordes of the Tawárek, to the Negro and half-Negro tribes, and to the very border of the South African

nations. In the regions of Central Africa there exists not one and the same stock, as in South Africa, but the greatest diversity of tribes, or rather nations, prevails, with idioms entirely distinct.

The great and momentous struggle between Islamism and Paganism is here continually going on, causing every day the most painful and affecting results, while the miseries arising from slavery and the slave trade are here revealed in their most repulsive features. We find Mohammedan learning ingrafted on the ignorance and simplicity of the black races, and the gaudy magnificence and strict ceremonial of large empires side by side with the barbarous simplicity of naked and half-naked tribes. We here trace a historical thread which guides us through this labyrinth of tribes and overthrown kingdoms; and a lively interest is awakened by reflecting on their possible progress and restoration, through the intercourse with more civilized parts of the world. Finally, we find here commerce in every direction radiating from Kanó, the great emporium of Central Africa, and spreading the manufactures of that industrious region over the whole of Western Africa.

I can not conclude these prefatory remarks without expressing my sincere thanks for the great interest shown in my proceedings by so many eminent men in this country, as well as for the distinction of the Victoria medal awarded to me by the Royal Geographical Society. As I may flatter myself that, by the success which attended my efforts, I have encouraged further undertakings in these, as well as in other quarters of Africa, so it will be my greatest satisfaction if this narrative should give a fresh impulse to the endeavors to open the fertile regions of Central Africa to European commerce and civilization.*

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* Dr. Barth, in his narrative, frequently refers to the expedition of Denham and Clapperton (which he calls "the former expedition,") as though its history were familiar to his readers. As this is not the case with a great majority of readers, we have thought it advisable to give an outline of what was accomplished by these gentlemen in the way of geographical discovery.

The persons selected by the British government for this mission to Central Africa, were Major Denham, Lieutenant Clapperton of the army, and Dr. Oudney, a naval surgeon, conversant with natural history. They arrived at Múrzuk, the capital of Fezzan, on the 8th of April, 1822. They left this place in November, and reached Lake Tsad on the 5th of February, 1823. On the 17th of February they arrived at Kuka, the capital of Bornu, then ruled by the Sheikh el Kanemy, who received them kindly, and permitted them to observe the country and its people. During their residence here, Major Denham imprudently joined Boo Khaloom, a native chief, in a slave hunting expedition against the Felatahs; the result of which was, that Boo Khaloom himself was defeated and killed, and Major Denham, after being stripped naked by the conquerors, barely escaped with his life.

On the 14th of December, 1823, Captain Clapperton and Dr. Oudney set out for Kano in Sudan, but Dr. Oudney, whose health had been failing, died on the 12th of January, 1824. Clapperton reached Kano, and thence proceeded to Sokoto, the residence of Sultan Bello, by whom he was favorably received. After a residence of several months in this place, Clapperton returned through Kashna, and on the 8th of July, 1824, arrived in Kuka, to which place, ten days later, Major Denham returned from a journey round Lake Tsad. On the 16th of August, 1824, the travellers left Kuka, and arrived at Tripoli on the 25th of January, 1825.

Clapperton, now promoted to the rank of captain, was equipped for a second expedition; and on the 7th of September, 1825, accompanied by Dr. Morrison and Captain Pearce, departed from Rodagry for the interior of Africa. In less than a month, Clapperton's two companions died; and he had no associate left but his faithful servant, Richard Lander. Sixty miles from the coast, he entered the kingdom of Yarriba, and was kindly received at its capital, Eyeo, or Katunga. He then visited Boussa, the scene of Mungo Park's death, and the kingdom of Zegzeg, the capital of which, Zaria, contained, by his computation, 50,000 inhabitants.

Clapperton at length arrived at Sokoto, where he found the Sultan no longer friendly. He knew that the English traveller was the bearer of a present to the Sheikh of Bornu, containing, among other articles, six muskets; and as he was at war with the Sheikh, this was deemed a suspicious circumstance. Clapperton's spirits were depressed. He soon fell sick, and expired on the 13th of April. Sultan Bello was somewhat affected by his death, and permitted Lander to perform his funeral obsequies with every mark of respect. After an unsuccessful attempt to trace the Niger to its outlet, Lander found his way to Badagry, on the coast, November 21, 1827.

In the first of these expeditions, Denham and Clapperton, from the

east side of Lake Tsad (long. 17°), to Sokoto (long. 5½°), explored a distance of 700 miles from east to west in the heart of Africa, a distance of 400 miles only remaining unknown, from Silla to Sokoto. But the second journey of Captain Clapperton added tenfold value to these discoveries. He had the good fortune to detect the shortest and most easy road to the populous countries of the interior, and he could boast of being the first who had completed an itinerary across the continent of Africa, from Tripoli to Benin.

While Captain Clapperton was on his second journey, Major Loring undertook to penetrate to Timbuktu. From Tripoli he crossed the Desert by way of Gadames. The kafila, with which he travelled, being attacked by the ferocious tribe, Tawarek, Major Loring received twenty-four wounds, and was left for dead. But by the attention of his companions he recovered, and reached Timbuktu, August 18, 1826. He was subsequently murdered by a treacherous Moorish guide, while attempting to reach Sego.

The knowledge of interior Africa, obtained by these expeditions, has been immensely increased by the discoveries and explorations of Dr. Barth.

AMERICAN EDITOR.

# CONTENTS.


## CHAPTER I.

PAGE

Dr. Barth and Mr. Overweg arrive in Tunis — Journey to Tripoli — Pass a Month in exploring the Country round Tripoli — They return to Tripoli — Are joined by Mr. Richardson, and proceed to Múrzuk, the capital of Fezzán ..... 25

## CHAPTER II.

Delay in Múrzuk — Description of the place, its Commerce, &c. — Departure from Múrzuk — Visit to Mohammed Bóro — Pilgrim Caravan — Desolate appearance of Fezzán — Tribute exacted — Dr. Barth returns to Múrzuk, and then proceeds to Tasáwa — Departure from Tasáwa — Slave Caravan — Mohammed Trumba — Arrival of Mr. Richardson with the Chiefs of Ghát ..... 32

## CHAPTER III.

Hatíta — Meet a Caravan with Slaves — Perilous adventure of Dr. Barth — Narrow escape from Death — Arrival at Ghát — Negotiation with the Tawárek Chiefs for protection ..... 44

## CHAPTER IV.

Departure from Ghát — Visit to Bárakat — Utaeti and the Kél-owí join the Caravan — 'Abd-el-Kader — Highest Mountain Pass — Alarming report of Robbers — Servant sick with the Guinea Worm — The Tiny'lkum join the Caravan — Marárraba — Mohammed Bóro threatens hostilities — Arrival at Asiu — Approach of an enemy — Great alarm in the Caravan — Three mysterious visitors Shrewd advice of 'Abd-el-Kader — The Slaves' Dance — Strange and suspicious conduct of Didi — Arrival at the frontier of Aïr or Asben ..... 53

## CHAPTER V.

Alarm in the Camp — Order of Battle — Leave Tághajít — The party robbed by the Tawárek Freebooters — Mount Asben — The Europeans are offered the alternative of turning Muslims or of being put to death — But escape by submitting to a fresh robbery — Selúfiet — Encamp near Tintaghodé — A terrible Freshet — Narrow escape of the whole party from being Drowned — Arrival of a new Escort — Arrival at Tintéllust, the capital of Aïr or Asben — Cost of the Journey..... 71

## CHAPTER VI.

Visit to the great chief A'nnur — His Character — Rain — Mr. Richardson's tent Robbed — 'Abd-el-Kader — Provisions — Dr. Barth sets out for A'gades, leaving Mr. Richardson and Dr. Overweg at Tintéllust — His unlucky attempt to ride a Bullock — His arrival at A'gades..... 88

## CHAPTER VII.

Dr. Barth in A'gades. — 'Abdallah — Visit to the Sultan of A'gades — Gracious reception — Visit to Mohammed Bóro — Markets of A'gades — Dr. Barth goes to see a national dance; is pursued to his quarters by armed Natives, and has a narrow escape from Death — Great Festival and Installation of the Sultan — Divan — Warlike expedition projected — Salt Caravan — Expedition resolved on — Visit of Mohammed Bóro and Belraji — Fight in Dr. Barth's room — Dr. Barth takes leave of the Sultan, who gives him letters to other Chiefs — Account of the Expedition of the Sultan of A'gades — Dr. Barth is visited by some ladies — Remarks on African morals — Conversation with Mohammed Omar on Religion — Hámma gets ready for a start — Prices of goods in A'gades..... 103

## CHAPTER VIII.

Dr. Barth's departure from A'gades — Stay in Tin-téggana — Departure for Sudán — The Salt Caravan — A'nnur's present to Dr. Barth — The Tagama — Visit of a Queen of the Desert — Arrival at Tágelel..... 123

## CHAPTER IX.

Separation of the Travellers — Dr. Overweg goes to Tasáwa — Alarming Letter — Dr. Barth rejoins Dr. Overweg at Tasáwa — Dr. Barth answers the Letter — Arrives at Kátsena — Visits the Governor — Journey from Kátsena to Kanó..... 133

## CHAPTER X.

Residence in Kanó — Finances — Appearance of the Streets of Kanó, and the People — Visit to the Governor — Presents — Population, Manufactures, and Commerce of Kanó — Its Army, Finances, and Government — Journey from Kanó the capital of Háusa to Bórnu — Dr. Barth hears of Mr. Richardson's death, and visits his Grave —Dr. Barth arrives at Kúkawa, the capital of the empire of Bórnu, 149

## CHAPTER XI.

Arrival in Kúkawa — Settling with Mr. Richardson's servants—Visit to the Vizier and the Sheikh — Transactions about Mr. Richardson's property — Giving medicine — Character of the Vizier — He supplies Dr. Barth with money — The Sheikh gives him a horse — Description of A′gades — The Markets — The Great Fair — The People of A′gades — The Women..... 169

## CHAPTER XII.

Visit to Lake Tsád — Description of its appearance — Pirates of the Tsád — Dr. Barth sends his servant off with letters — Arrival of Dr. Overweg — Mr. Richardson's property delivered to Dr. Barth and Dr. Overweg..... 189

## CHAPTER XIII.

Dr. Barth sets out for Adamáwa — He reaches the confluence of the Bénuwé and Fáro — His visit to Yóla, the capital of Adamáwa — His short residence there — His dismissal — His return to Kúkawa, 202

## CHAPTER XIV.

Dr. Barth agrees to accompany a band of Arab freebooters on a plundering expedition — He is presented with a fine horse by the Vizier of Bórnu — He starts on the expedition — Is joined by Dr. Overweg. — Robberies of the Arabs — Great herd of Elephants — Large snake killed — Outrages of the Arabs — Their camp taken by the enemy — Baggage of the travellers plundered — Return of the expedition to Kúkawa..... 228

## CHAPTER XV.

Dr. Barth joins another warlike expedition — Lamíno — March of the enemy — Conversation with the sheikh on slavery — Submission of a chief — The sheikh returns to Kúkawa — Prince A′dishén — Entering the Musgú country — Encampment in the forest — Singular water combat — Plundering and outrages by the Bórnu army — Spoil divided — The army returns to Kúkawa..... 250

## CHAPTER XVI.

Setting out for Bagírmi — Arrival at Kála — Logón — Leaving Logón — The Shari river — Not allowed to cross the river, Dr. Barth eludes the guard, crosses the river, and enters Bagírmi — Sends a Message to the Capital — Unfavorable Answer — Residence at Bakadá — Attempt to leave Bagírmi — Dr. Barth is arrested and put in irons — Again set free — Arrival at the Capital — Interview with Lieutenant-Governor Faki Sambo — Dr. Barth suspected to be a rain-maker — The Ladies ..... 277

## CHAPTER XVII.

Return of the Sultan of Bórnu to Más-eñá, the capital — Triumphal entry—Dr. Barth receives letters from the British government, and an appointment to carry out the objects of the expedition, with supplies — His new position — He is directed to go to Timbúktu — Visit of courtiers — Memorandum book — Audience of the Sultan — Offer of a female slave to the Doctor, respectfully declined — Present from the Sultan — Detention in Más-eña — Preparations for departure — Home journey to Kúkawa — Death of Mr. Overweg ..... 298

## CHAPTER XVIII.

Dr. Barth takes leave of the Sheikh of Bórnu and starts for Timbúktu — His servants — Passes the Komádugu of Bórnu — The Natron Lake — Múniyó — Visit of Y'usuf Múkni — Wealth and power of Múniyoma — Visit to him — Arrival at Zínder ..... 315

## CHAPTER XIX.

Departure from Zínder — Arrival at Gadawa — Sadíku, the rebel — Arrival at Kátsena — Bel Ghét — Ants — Second residence at Kátsena — Leaves Kátsena — Passage of the wilderness of Gúndumi — First meeting with 'Alíyu — Audience — Presents — 'Alíyu sets out on an Expedition—Arrival of Dr. Barth at Wurnó, 340

## CHAPTER XX.

Residence in Wurnó — Proceedings of 'Alíyu — Excursion to Sókoto — Market of Sókoto — Return to Wurnó — Visit to 'Alíyu on his return from the expedition — Presents — Departure from Wurnó — Reach Gando — Visit to Khalílu ..... 360

## CHAPTER XXI.

Approach to the Niger — Arrival at the Niger — Town of Say — Sebba — Libtáko — Dóre — Skill and address of Waláti — Camp of the Tawárek — Arrival at Bourbarra..... 379

## CHAPTER XXII.

Residence in Bámbara — Dr. Barth taken for a rain-maker — Diplomacy of the Arab, Waláti — Visit to Somki — Dr. Barth again passes for a successful rain-maker — Voyage on the Niger to Kabara..... 406

## CHAPTER XXIII.

Arrival at Kábara — Description of the place — Visit of the Sheikh's brother—Entrance into Timbúktu—Dr. Barth shut up in his house — Exactions of the Sheikh's brother — Threatened attack on Dr. Barth's house—He arms his household, and his enemies desist from the attack — Dispute on Religion — Letter from the Sheikh El Bakáy — Grand Festival of the Mohammedans — Sickness of Dr. Barth..... 414

## CHAPTER XXIV.

Arrival of the Sheikh — Present from him — Interview with the Sheikh — Pistol — Conversation about Major Laing — Presents to the Sheikh — Effect of firing off a six-shooter — Intrigues and troubles — Manners — Preparations for a residence in the desert, 434

## CHAPTER XXV.

Dr. Barth and the Sheikh el Bakáy go to reside at a camp outside of Timbúktu — Friendly disposition of the Sheikh — Disputes in his family — Sídi A'lawáte tries to convert Dr. Barth to Mohammedanism—Return to the city—More rascalities of the Arab Waláti —Description of Timbúktu — Excursion to Kabára and residence in camp..... 442

## CHAPTER XXVI.

Political troubles in Timbúktu — Dr. Barth's life threatened — The camp menaced — Dr. Barth defended by the Sheikh — The chief A'wáb — Letter from Mr. Dickson — Firman from Stambúl demanded — Mungo Park — Death of 'Alí — Rise of the Niger..... 451

## CHAPTER XXVII.

Discussions of the Chiefs on Religion — Excursion to the River — Commerce of Timbúktu..... 462

## CHAPTER XXVIII.

The Sheikh's views on religion — Attempts against the Doctor's safety — Friendly disposition of the Sheikh — Political parties in Timbúktu — Sídi Mohammed — The Sheikh's camp near Timbúktu — Remarks on commercial intercourse with Timbúktu ..... 470

## CHAPTER XXIX.

Dr. Barth attempts to leave Timbúktu—The reasons for his return—Incidents on the return—Apprehensions of a French invasion from Algeria — The Tawárek camp at Amelelle — Return to the neighborhood of Timbúktu ..... 482

## CHAPTER XXX.

Final departure from Timbúktu—Letters from England — Ghérgo—The family of the Sheikh — Gógó ..... 494

## CHAPTER XXXI.

Residence at Gógó—Separation from the Sheikh—Dangerous position of the party near Tagabáta ..... 500

## CHAPTER XXXII.

Arrival at Say—Residence at Say—Departure—Támkala—Audience of the Governor — Gando — Arrival at Sókoto — Residence in Wurnó — Arrival at Kanó ..... 504

## CHAPTER XXXIII.

Second residence in Kanó, under unfavorable circumstances — March towards Kúkawa — Meeting with Mr. Vogel — Last residence in Kanó — Departure of Mr. Vogel — Departure from Kanó — Journey to Fezzán — Arrival at Múrzuk — Sokna — Dr. Barth is received by Mr. Reade at 'A'in Zára — Arrival at Tripoli — At Paris — At London — Remarks on the expedition ..... 511

# TRAVELS AND DISCOVERIES

IN

# AFRICA.

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## CHAPTER I.

**Dr. Barth and Mr. Overweg arrive in Tunis — Journey to Tripoli — Pass a Month in exploring the Country round Tripoli — They return to Tripoli — Are joined by Mr. Richardson, and proceed to Murzúk, the Capital of Fezzán.**

Mr. Richardson was waiting in Paris for dispatches when Mr. Overweg and I reached Tunis, by way of Philippeville and Bona, on the 15th of December, 1849; and having, through the kind interference of Mr. Ferrier, the British vice-consul, been allowed to enter the town after six days' quarantine, we began immediately to provide ourselves with articles of dress, while, in the mean time, we took most interesting daily rides to the site of ancient Carthage.

Having procured many useful articles for our journey, and having found a servant, the son of a freed slave from Gober, we left Tunis on the 30th of December, and passed the first night in Hammám el Enf. Early next morning we followed the charming route by Krumbália, which presents a no less vivid specimen of the beauty and natural fertility of the Tunisian country than of the desolate state to which it is at present reduced. We then passed the fine gardens of Turki, a narrow spot of cultivation in a wide, desolate plain of the

finest soil; and, leaving El Khwín to our right, we reached El Arb'ain.

Both these places enjoy a peculiar celebrity with the natives. El Khwín is said to have been once a populous place, but nearly all its inhabitants were destroyed by a spring of bituminous water, which, according to tradition, afterward disappeared. El Arb'ain, the locality of the "forty" martyrs, is a holy place, and 'Ali, our muleteer, in his pious zeal, took up a handful of the sacred earth and sprinkled it over us. It is a most picturesque spot. Keeping then along the wild plain covered with a thick underwood of myrtle, we beheld in the distance the highly picturesque and beautiful Mount Zaghwán, the Holy Mountain of the ancient inhabitants, which rose in a majestic form, and we at length reached Bir el buwíta, "the well of the little closet," at one o'clock in the afternoon. The "little closet," however, had given place to a most decent-looking whitewashed khán, where we took up our quarters in a clean room. But our buoyant spirits did not allow us long repose, and a quarter before eleven at night we were again on our mules.

I shall never forget this, the last night of the year 1849, which opened to us a new era with many ordeals, and by our endurance of which we were to render ourselves worthy of success. There were, besides ourselves, our servants, and our two muleteers, four horsemen of the Bey, and three natives from Jirbi. When midnight came, my fellow-traveller and I saluted the new year with enthusiasm, and with a cordial shake of the hand wished each other joy. Our Mohammedan companions were greatly pleased when they were informed of the reason of our congratulating each other, and wished us all possible success for the new year. We had also reason to be pleased with them, for by their not inharmonious songs they relieved the fatigue of a long, sleepless, and excessively cold night.

Having made a short halt under the olive-trees at the side of the dilapidated town of Herkla, and taken a morsel of bread, we moved on with our poor animals without interruption till half an hour after noon, when we reached the funduk

(or caravanserai) Sidi Bú J'afer, near Súsa, where we took up our quarters, in order to be able to start again at night; the gates of the town being kept shut till morning.

Starting before three o'clock in the morning, we were exactly twelve hours in reaching El Jem, with the famous Castle of the Prophetess, still one of the most splendid monuments of Roman greatness, overhanging the most shabby hovels of Mohammedan indifference. On the way we had a fine view, toward the west, of the picturesque Jebel Trutsa, along the foot of which I had passed on my former wanderings, and of the wide, outstretching Jebel Useleet.

Another ride of twelve hours brought us, on the 3d of January, 1850, to Sfákes, where we were obliged to take up our quarters in the town, as our land journey was here at an end, and we were to procure a vessel to carry us either direct to Tripoli, or to some other point on the opposite side of the Lesser Syrtis. The journey by land is not only expensive, particularly for people who are encumbered with a good deal of luggage, as we then were, and very long and tedious, but is also very unsafe, as I found from experience on my former journey. The island of Jirbi, which forms the natural station of the maratime intercourse between the regency of Tunis and that of Tripoli, had been put under the strictest rules of quarantine, rather from political considerations than from those of health, all intercourse with the main land having been cut off. It was, therefore, with great difficulty that we succeeded in hiring a "gáreb" to carry us to Zwára, in which we embarked in the forenoon of Saturday, the 5th of January.

[This passage occupied several days, and on the 18th of January the party were in the neighborhood of Tripoli.]

We had a long stretch the following day to reach the capital, which we were most anxious to accomplish, as we expected Mr. Richardson would have arrived before us in consequence of our own tedious journey; and having sent the Khalífa in advance to keep the gate open for us, we succeeded in reaching the town after an uninterrupted march of thirteen hours and a half, and were most kindly received by Mr. Crowe, her majes-

ty's consul general, and the vice-consul, Mr. Reade, with whom I was already acquainted. We were surprised to find that Mr. Richardson had not even yet been heard of, as we expected he would come direct by way of Malta. But he did not arrive till twelve days after. With the assistance of Mr. Reade, we had already finished a great deal of our preparations, and would have gladly gone on at once; but neither the boat, nor the instruments, nor the arms or tents had as yet arrived, and a great deal of patience was required. However, being lodged in the neat house of the former Austrian consul, close to the harbor, and which commands a charming prospect, our time passed rapidly by.

On the 25th of January, Mr. Reade presented Mr. Overweg and myself to Yesíd Bashá, the present governor, who received us with great kindness and good feeling.

As soon as it became apparent that the preparations for our final departure for the interior would require at least a month, Mr. Overweg and I resolved to employ the interval in making a preliminary excursion through the mountainous region that encompasses Tripoli in a radius of from sixty to eighty miles.

With this view, we hired two camels, with a driver each, and four donkeys, with a couple of men, for ourselves and our two servants, Mohammed Belăl, the son of a liberated Hăusa slave, and Ibrahím, a liberated Bagirmi slave, whom we had been fortunate enough to engage here; and, through the consul's influence, we procured a shoush, or officer, to accompany us the whole way.

Neither the instruments provided by her majesty's government, nor the tents and arms, had as yet arrived. But Mr. Overweg had a good sextant, and I a good chronometer, and we were both of us provided with tolerably good compasses, thermometers, and an aneroid barometer. Mr. Frederick Warrington, too, was good enough to lend us a tent.

We had determined to start in the afternoon of the 4th of February, 1850, so as to pass the first night in Ghargásh; but, meeting with delays, we did not leave the town till after sunset.

[This excursion lasted till the 27th of February, when the party returned to Tripoli.]

Meanwhile the instruments provided by government had arrived, and proved in general well adapted for their purposes. But the tents and arms had not yet reached us, and I thought it better to provide a strong, spacious, and low tent, which, even after the government tents arrived, did not prove superfluous, although perhaps rather too heavy. All tents intended for travellers in hot climates should be well lined and not too high. Those which we received were quite unfit for the country whither we were going, and while they were so light that they could hardly withstand a strong blast of wind, they scarcely excluded the sun, particularly after a little wear and tear. All the tents ought also to have top-ropes, which can alone secure them in a tornado such as are common in those climates. Mr. Richardson was soon obliged to provide himself with another tent, so that in the course of our journey we had altogether five tents, but generally pitched only two, or, where we encamped for a greater length of time, four.

Mr. Overweg and I sustained a heavy loss in the secession of our black servant Ibrahím, who might have proved of great service to us in the interior, as he spoke the Bórnu and Bagrimma languages, and had himself wandered about a good deal in those little-known districts between Mándara and Bagírmi. We now had only two servants, one of whom, Mohammed e' Zintáni, would certainly not go farther than Fezzán.

At length all was ready for our outset except the boat,* which caused Mr. Richardson a great deal of trouble, as it had been divided in Malta into two pieces instead of four. I proposed that we should pitch our tents for some days at 'Ain Zára, in order that we might be duly seasoned for our long journey.

It was late in the afternoon of the 24th of March, 1850, when Overweg and I, seated in solemn state upon our camels, left the town with our train, preceded by the consul, Mr. Crowe,

* This boat was intended for navigating Lake Tsad; and it was ultimately used for that purpose.

in his carriage, by Mr. Reade, and by Mr. Dickson and his family, of whom we took a hearty leave under the olive-trees near Kasr el Haeni. We then continued our route, and in fine moonlight pitched our tent on the border of 'Ain Zára.

Here we remained encamped till Friday, the 29th. In the afternoon of the 27th, Mr. Frederick Warrington, who wished to escort us for a few days, came out, accompanied by the American consul, Mr. Gaines, and brought us the satisfactory news that on the following Friday Mr. Richardson would move from the town, and that we should meet him at Mejenín. I and my countryman required eight camels for our luggage, besides the two which we rode ourselves, and which were our own. I had been so fortunate as to procure an excellent Arab camel, of the renowned breed of the Bú-Saef, which was my faithful companion as far as Kúkawa; and Mr. Warrington had made me a present of a handsome Ghadamsi saddle or basúr, with pillows, and a Stambúli carpet, so that I was comfortably mounted.

*Friday, March 29th.* After a great deal of trouble (the camel-drivers and our men being as yet unaccustomed to our unwieldy luggage), we at length succeeded in making a start. After leaving the olive-trees and the little palm-grove of 'Ain Zára, we very soon entered deep sand-hills, which sheltered us from the strong wind. Owing to our slow progress, the sun was almost setting when we overtook Mr. Warrington, who had pitched his tent on a fine pasture-ground near Bir Sbaea.

*Saturday, March 30th.* Having indulged for some hours in the quiet enjoyment of a fine morning, and an open, green country, I went with the shoush to look after Mr. Richardson's party. After an hour's ride through luxuriant corn-fields, and pasture-grounds enlivened by the horses of the Turkish cavalry, we found Mukni, the sailor, and all Mr. Richardson's baggage; but he himself had not yet come up. I could not persuade the people to remove our encampment, so I returned, after having paid a visit to the binbásha of the cavalry, who had been stationed here for the last seventeen years.

*Sunday, March 31st.* Foggy weather indicated that rain

was approaching; and just in time Mr. Richardson with his party arrived, and pitched his enormous lazaretto tent opposite our little encampment.

*April 2d.* We fairly set out on our expedition. [Passing by way of Mizda, and over the stony plateau called the Hammada, the party reached the village of Ederi on the 25th of April; but it was not till the 6th of May that Múrzuk, the capital of Fezzán, was reached.]

*Monday, May 6th.* All the people were eager to reach today the first great station of the journey; but, owing to the straying of some of the camels, we were unable to start quite as early as we wished. The country in general was very sterile, presenting only a few small date-groves, which we passed at greater or less distance, and at length we reached the plantation of Múrzuk itself. Then we reached the wall of the town, built of a sort of clay glittering with saline incrustations; and going round the whole western and northern sides, which have no gate wide enough for a caravan, we halted on the eastern side of the town, not far from the camp of the pilgrims who were returning from Egypt to Marocco and Tawát, till Mr. Gagliuffi came out of the town and brought us in. Mr. Richardson had arrived about an hour before us. I was lodged in a cool and airy room on the N. E. corner of Mr. Gagliuffi's house, which had within the court a very pleasant half-covered hall. Mr. Gagliuffi treated us with all possible hospitality, and did all in his power to render our stay in the town agreeable.

## CHAPTER II.

Delay in Múrzuk—Description of the Place, its Commerce, &c — Departure from Múrzuk — Visit to Mohammed Bóro — Pilgrim Caravan — Desolate appearance of Fezzán — Tribute exacted — Dr. Barth returns to Múrzuk, and then proceeds to Tasáwa — Departure from Tasáwa — Slave Caravan—Mohammed Trumba—Arrival of Mr. Richardson with the Chiefs of Ghát.

Unfortunately, our stay in Múrzuk seemed likely to become a very long one, as the chiefs from Ghát, who were to take us under their protection, were not yet sent for. The courier with our letters, to which was added a missive from the acting governor promising perfect security to the chiefs, did not set out till the 8th of May. No doubt, in order to visit Aïr, a country never before trodden by European foot, with any degree of safety, we wanted some powerful protection; but it was very questionable whether any of the chiefs of Ghát could afford us such, while the sending for them expressly to come to Múrzuk to fetch us would, of course, raise their pretensions very high, and in the same degree those of other chiefs whose territory we should enter hereafter. Be this as it may, this mode of procedure having been once adopted, the question arose whether all three of us should proceed to Ghát; and it was decided, the very next day after our arrival, that the director of the expedition alone (Mr. Richardson) should touch at that place, in order to make, if possible, a treaty with the chiefs in that quarter, while Mr. Overweg and I were to proceed with the caravan by the southern route directly to the well Arikím, and there to await Mr. Richardson.

Providentially, a man had been sent to act as mediator between us and the countries to which we were about to direct

our steps. He had been recommended to us in the very strongest terms by Hassan Bashá, the former governor of Fezzán, whom we had frequently seen in Tripoli, and who knew something about the men of influence and authority in Negroland. This man was Mohammed Bóro, who, with the title Serki-n-turáwa, "Lord of the Whites," resided generally in A'gades, but had also a house and many connections in Sókoto, and at present was on his home journey from a pilgrimage to Mekka. It was a great pity that Mr. Gagliuffi, H. M.'s agent and our host, influenced I know not by whom, greatly underrated the importance of this man, and treated him with very little consideration. He was represented to us as an intriguer, who, besides, arrogated to himself much more consequence than he was really entitled to — a man, in short, whose friendship was scarcely worth cultivating, at least not at any sacrifice.

Mohammed Bóro called upon us on the 8th of May at Gagliuffi's house. He was an elderly, respectable-looking man, wearing a green bernús over white under-clothes. He could speak but little Arabic, but received Mr. Gagliuffi's empty and rather ironical assurances that the whole welfare and success of the expedition were placed in his (Mohammed Bóro's) hands with a continual strain of "el hamdu lilláhi"s. In his company were his eldest son and another man of Asben. He afterward sent us some gúro, or kola-nuts, of which he seemed to have a great stock, and which he also sold in the market. Gagliuffi sent him, as an acknowledgment, a very lean sheep, which, with a small loaf of sugar, was all he got from us in Múrzuk. Instead of gaining his friendship, this treatment served only to irritate him, and was productive of some very bad consequences to us. This interesting person will appear in his true character and importance in the course of this narrative.

The appearance of Múrzuk is rather picturesque, but its extreme aridity is felt at once, and this feeling grows stronger on a prolonged residence. Even in the plantation which surrounds it there are only a few favored spots where, under the

protection of a deeper shade of the date-trees, a few fruit-trees can be cultivated, such as pomegranates, figs, and peaches. Culinary vegetables, including onions, are extremely scarce; milk, except a little from the goats, is, of course, out of the question.

The town lies in a flat hollow "Hófrah," which is the appropriate native name of the district, but nevertheless at the considerable elevation of 1495 feet, surrounded by ridges of sand; and in this hollow lies scattered the plantation, without the least symmetry of arrangement or mark of order. In some places it forms a long narrow strip, extending to a great distance, in others a detached grove, while on the southeast side of the town the desert approaches close to the walls in a deep inlet. Toward the east a little grove apart forms, as it were, an advanced post. The densest and finest part of the grove is toward the north, where also are the greatest number of gardens and fields in which wheat, barley, gédheb (or, rather, kédheb), and a few vegetables, are cultivated with much labor. In the same quarter also the greatest number of cottages are to be found, including huts (large and small) made of palm-branches, the former consisting of several apartments and a small court-yard, the latter having generally only one room of very narrow dimensions.

In the midst of this plantation lies Múrzuk. It is situated so as not to face the cardinal points, but with a deviation from them of thirty degrees, the north side running N. 30° E., S. 30° W., and so on: it is less than two miles in circumference. The walls, built of clay, with round and pointed bastions, but partly in bad repair, have two gates, the largest on the east, and the other on the west side. There is only a very small gate on the north side, and there is none toward the south. This quarter of the town has been greatly contracted by 'Abd el Jelíl, as the remains of the old wall of the time of Mukni clearly show; but the town is still much too large for its scanty population, which is said now to amount to 2800, and the greatest part of it, especially in the quarters most distant from the bazaar, is thinly inhabited and half in ruins. The cha-

racteristic feature of the town, which shows that it has more points of relation with Negroland than with the lands of the Arabs, is the spacious road or "dendal" stretching out from the eastern gate as far as the castle, and making the principal part of the town more airy, but also infinitely more exposed to the heat.

The bazaar, of course, is the most frequented part of the town. It lies nearly half way between the east and west gates, but a little nearer to the former, and affords, with its halls of palm-stems, a very comfortable place for the sellers and buyers. The watch-house at the east end of the bazaar, and almost opposite Mr. Gagliuffi's house, is ornamented with a portico of six columns, which adds to the neat appearance of this quarter of the town. The kásbah is the same as in Captain Lyon's time, with its immense walls and small apartments; but the outer court has been much improved by the building of a barrack or kishlah, which now forms its northern portion. It is a large quadrangular building, with a spacious esplanade in the interior, around which are arranged the principal apartments. The building is said to be capable of containing 2000 men, though at present there are but 400 in the garrison, who are well lodged and fed.

With regard to commerce, the condition of Múrzuk is very different from that of Ghadames. The latter is the residence of wealthy merchants, who embark all their capital in commercial enterprises, and bring home their own merchandise. But Múrzuk is rather the thoroughfare than the seat of a considerable commerce, the whole annual value of imports and exports amounting, in a round sum, to 100,000 Spanish dollars; and the place, therefore, is usually in great want of money; the foreign merchants, when they have sold their merchandise, carrying away its price in specie — the Mejábera to Jálo, the Tébu to Bílma and Bórnu, the people of Tawát and Ghadámes to their respective homes. Few of the principal merchants of Múrzuk are natives of the place. The western or Sudán route is more favorable to commerce than the route to Bórnu. On the latter the Tawárek are always ready to furnish any

number of camels to carry merchandise and to guarantee their safety, while the road to Bórnu, which is the nearest to Múrzuk, is in such a precarious state that the merchant who selects it must convey his merchandise on his own camels and at his own risk. As for the routes through Fezzán, the Hotmán, the Zwáya, and the Megésha are the general carriers of the merchandise; while, on the route to Sudán, the conveyance at present is wholly in the hands of the Tiny'lkum.

As soon as Gagliuffi learned distinctly the plan of our expedition, he made an agreement with these people to take our things as far as Selúfiet; and they were anxious to be off. After much procrastination, they fixed upon the 6th of June for taking away the merchandise with which we had been provided here. We were to follow on the 12th; but the luggage not being ready at an early hour, our final departure was fixed for the 13th.

*Thursday, June 13th.* Accompanied by Mr. Gagliuffi, the Greek doctor, and the Bin-básha, we left Múrzuk by the western gate. My parting from Mr. Gagliuffi was cordial. He had received us and treated us hospitably, and had shown an earnest desire to further our proceedings, and to secure, if possible, the success of our expedition; and if, in his commercial transactions with the mission, he did not neglect his own advantage, we could not complain, though it would have been infinitely better for us if we had been provided with a more useful sort of merchandise.

In leaving the town, we kept, in general, along the same path by which we had first entered it, and encamped during the hot hours of the day in the scanty shade afforded by the trees of Zerghán, the well close by affording us delicious draughts of cool water, not at all of that brackish, insipid taste which is common to the water of Fezzán. We had started in the belief that we should find our luggage in O'm el hammám; but in this place we learned from the poor ragged people who come occasionally hither to take care of the trees that it was gone on to Tigger-urtín. Not knowing, however, the road to the latter place, we took the path to O'm el ham-

mám, and encamped about seven o'clock in the afternoon a little north of it.

O'm el hammám is a half-decayed and deserted village, built of clay, which is strongly incrusted with salt, the inhabitants at present living entirely in huts made of palm-branches. The plantation being intermixed with a large number of ethel-trees (*Tamarix orientalis*), and interspersed with gardens, exhibited a more varied aspect than is generally the case with these groves; and having pitched our tent near a large ethel-bush, we felt very comfortable, especially as we had the good luck to obtain a few eggs, which, fried with plenty of onions, made a very palatable supper.

Next morning we directed our course to Tigger-urtín, making almost a right angle toward the north, and crossing a desolate plain incrusted with salt, after we had left the fine plantation of O'm el hammám. Having reached the village of our camel-drivers, which consists entirely of huts of palm-branches, we looked long in vain for a tolerable camping-ground, as the strong wind filled the whole air with sand. At length we pitched our tents a few paces south from the well. It was an extremely sultry and oppressive day, and the wind anything but refreshing.

In the afternoon we went to pay our compliments to Mohammed Bóro, who had left Múrzuk several days before us. He informed us that he had consumed all his provisions, and that he would have left to-day for Tasáwa, in order to replenish his stores, if he had not seen us coming. We consoled him with the intimation that we hoped our whole party would be soon ready for starting, and sent him a quantity of dates and corn.

*June* 16*th*. In the morning I took a walk round the village of the Tiny'lkum, which exhibited some lively and interesting scenes. All the men were saying their prayers together upon a sand-hill on the north side of the principal cluster of cottages, while the women were busy in getting ready the provisions for the long journey about to be undertaken by their husbands, and the children were playing among them. About

fifty or sixty huts were lying hereabouts, most of them formed into groups, others more detached. Some of them had pointed roofs, while others were flat-roofed; but all of them had a neat and orderly appearance. Besides camels, which constitute their principal wealth, as by means of them they are enabled to undertake those long annual journeys to Sudán, they possess a good many sheep.

About noon arrived the pilgrim-caravan of the Tawáti, which had been long encamped near Múrzuk, on their way home; it had been this year only 114 persons strong, with 70 muskets, while sometimes it musters as many as 500 persons. Their chief, or sheikh el rákeb, was an intelligent person of the name of 'Abd el Káder, a native of Timímun, who had been leader of the caravan several times. They encamped at no great distance from us on the open ground.

Being obliged to buy another camel for myself (in order to be able to mount our servant Mohammed el Túnsi on a camel of our own, the Tiny'lkum being very particular about their beasts, and not liking to see a man often mounting them), I bought, in the afternoon, a fine tall méheri * from Háj Mohammed for 69 Fezzán riyals, or 55 Spanish dollars.

*June 17th.* I made a longer excursion along the eastern part of the wadi, which here, where it is lower and collects more humidity, is adorned with some beautiful wild groups of palm-trees left quite to themselves; the valley extends toward Wadi Ghodwa, which it joins. Keeping on in that direction, I came to a poor hamlet called Márhhaba, inhabited by a few families, who bitterly complained of their poverty. Here was formerly a village built of clay, and a large spacious castle about sixty-five paces square. All is now deserted, and only a small part of the available ground is under culture, forming about six or seven small fields. The same picture is met with all over Fezzán, where the only places exhibiting to the eye some degree of life and prosperity are Sokna and Múrzuk. The population of this wide expanse of country falls short of even sixty thousand souls.

* Méheri, a swift camel.

The heat of the day had already set in when I returned to the tents, where I was extremely rejoiced to see the different members of our caravan collecting at last, so as to afford a fair prospect of our soon setting out for unknown and more interesting regions. There had arrived Mohammed el Sfaksi, a man with whom Mr. Gagliuffi had entered into a sort of partnership for a commercial journey to Negroland, and whom he had supplied with a tolerable amount of merchandise, and in the afternoon came the boat. The following day Yusuf Mukni, Mr. Richardson's interpreter, came with the rest of the luggage, so that gradually everything felt into its right place, and nothing was now wanting but the Tawárek chiefs to set our whole body in regular motion. We therefore procured a load of dates from Aghár, and, getting everything ready, roused our spirits for the contemplation of novelties and the encountering of difficulties; for the latter could certainly not be wanting where the former were at hand.

*Wednesday, June 19th.* While the greater part of the caravan took the direct road to the well Sháraba, Mr. Overweg and I, with the remainder, chose the road to Tessáwa, or, rather, more accurately, Tasáwa; but, though our party formed but a small body of people, yet it presented a very animated spectacle. The lazy Arab mode of letting the camels go singly, as they like, straggling about right and left, strains and fatigues the traveller's attention; but his mind is stimulated and nerved to the contemplation of great distances to be traversed when he sees a long line of camels attached one to the other, and led by a man at a steady pace without any halt or interruption. As for myself, riding my own méheri, I was quite at liberty to go before or fall behind, just as the circumstances of the road called for observation, or presented something worthy of attention.

Having passed some tolerably deep sand-hills accumulated in the wadi, we obtained a sight of an advanced spur of the plantation of Aghár to our left, when the ground became firm and the country more open. We then passed the village of Tasáwa, which, with its clay walls and towers, looks much

more considerable from afar than it appears when viewed from among the deserted houses within it; still it is one of the more wealthy and important places of the country. A little beyond it we encamped on the open sandy ground, when, as our small tent had by mistake gone on in advance, and our large tent was too bulky to be pitched for one night's rest, we contrived a very tolerable airy shade with our carpets.

We had scarcely made ourselves comfortable when we received the joyful news that Hatíta, with two sons of Shâfo, had just arrived from Ghât, and were about to call on us. Their arrival, of course, had now become a matter of the utmost importance, as Mr. Richardson had made his mind up not to start without them, though it might have been clear, to every one well acquainted with the state of things in the interior, that their protection could not be the least guaranty for our favorable reception and success in the country of Aïr or Asben, inhabited and governed by an entirely distinct tribe. And, on the other hand, the arrival of these chiefs made our relation to Mohammed Bóro extremely disagreeable; for, after waiting so long for us, he now clearly saw that Mr. Gagliuffi, in declaring that we relied entirely on him for success, while we were, in fact, placing ourselves wholly at the disposal of the chiefs of Ghât, was only trifling with him. He therefore flew into a violent passion, threatening openly before the people that he would take care that we should be attacked on the road by his countrymen; and these were not empty threats.

Having assured ourselves that, owing to the arrival of the Tawárek chiefs, we should have to make some stay here, we determined to pitch our large tent early the next morning, while the chiefs had a long dispute with Mohammed e' Sfaksi, the subject of which I must relate, as it throws some light on the history and the present state of this country. The northern Tawárek, when they occupied the country round Ghât, established a sort of tribute, or gheráma, to be paid by merchants passing through their territory, and on payment of which the trader should be no further molested, but enjoy full protection. At that time the Masráta — a section of a very powerful Ber-

ber tribe — had made a colonial settlement in A'gades, and, owing to their great power, commercial activity, and near connection with the Tawárek, were considered wholly exempt from any tribute, while the inhabitants of Tunis, who seem to have excited the jealousy or hostility of the great lords of the desert, were subjected to the highest personal exaction, viz., ten dollars a head. Now Gagliuffi's partner was a native of Sfákes; but, having long resided in Masráta, he insisted upon being free from tribute, like the inhabitants of the latter place; but our friends were not to be cheated out of their right, and made him pay as a Tunisian.

Having settled this little business, they came to us. There were Hatíta Inek (the son of Khóden of the Manghásatangh), Utaeti (the eldest son of Sháfo), a younger son of the latter, and several more. The first, who had enjoyed the friendship of Captain Lyon, behaved throughout like a man well acquainted with Europeans; but Utaeti conducted himself like a strict Tarki, neither showing his face nor speaking a single word. Hatita expressed the wish that we should not proceed until he returned from Múrzuk, where he assured us he would remain but a short time; and we engaged to do our best to keep back the camel-drivers, who were but little inclined to stay here long.

In consequence of this state of things, I determined to return to the town, in order to ascertain the terms entered into between the parties; and accordingly, starting at five in the evening, and resting a few minutes after midnight in Zerghán, I reached Múrzuk on Friday morning at seven o'clock. I found that Mr. Gagliuffi had been very ill during the hot weather of the last few days, but to-day he was fortunately a little better.

Having waited in vain for the chiefs the whole of Saturday, we received a visit from them on Sunday, when they appeared in the finery with which they had been dressed by Mustapha Bey, but would not come to any terms; and it was not till Monday, when they took up their residence in the house belonging formerly to Mukni, but now to the Wakíl of Borno,

that they concluded an arrangement. The sum which they then received would have been moderate had they undertaken to see us safe under the protection of Annur, the chief of the Kél-owí. I urged, with Mr. Gagliuffi, the necessity of having a written copy of the agreement; but to this the chief would not listen, and thus confessed that there was really no distinct contract, as we had been given to understand, to the effect that Utaeti should not leave us till he had committed us to the care of the chief Annur.

This business being concluded, I was in great haste to return to Tasáwa; and starting immediately afterward, at one o'clock in the afternoon, arrived at our tent a little before midnight. Our tent, indeed, was still there; but all the Tiny'lkum (Músa alone excepted) and all our things were gone on, and Overweg and I were obliged to follow the next day, without waiting for Mr. Richardson.

Accordingly, on the 25th of June we left Tasáwa, and, after having crossed some sand-hills, entered upon harder soil, with ethel-bushes crowning the little hills, the whole scene making the impression that a considerable current of water had at one period flowed along here and carried away the soil, which had once extended to the top of the hills. But after about another hour's march we entered upon pebbly ground like that of the Hammáda, and continued descending through a bare country till we reached the well Sháraba, where we encamped a little to the north, near a talha-bush. It is an open well, only three feet below the surface of the ground, which here forms a very remarkable hollow, almost six hundred feet below the level of Múrzuk, but nevertheless contains water only for two or three months in the year.

Toward evening the locality was enlivened for a short time by a small slave-caravan, led by Mohammed Trumba or 'Akerút, an active, energetic man, whom I met several times in the course of my travels, and incurred some obligation toward him, as it was he who, on my setting out from Zinder to Timbúctu in the beginning of 1853, brought me a supply of one thousand dollars, without which I could scarcely have suc-

ceeded in my undertaking. He had come in only sixty-five days from Zinder, and thirty-three from Asben, having been obliged to pursue his journey as fast as possible, because, owing to the expedition of the Kél-owí against the Welád Slimán, provisions were very scarce in Asben. He estimated the number of fighting men who had gone on that expedition at seven thousand, and stated that the Tawárek were acting in concert with the Dáza, a tribe of Tébu, whose real name is Búlgudá. He stated that E' Núr (or Annur, as the name is pronounced), the chief of the Kél-owí, was at present in Tasáwa (that is to say, the town of that name on the borders of Negroland), but would soon return to Asben. He confirmed the report of plenty of rain having fallen in the desert, in consequence of which the wells were full; but he begged me to beware of the cold during the nights, which he represented as very intense. He had twenty-three female slaves with him and only five camels, and hastened on to Tasáwa, in order to obtain dates for his famished people.

About five o'clock in the afternoon we were at length joined by Mr. Richardson and the chiefs of the Askár; but the unsatisfactory way in which the business had been concluded with these chiefs in Múrzuk led to a break-up sooner even than I had suspected. The next evening Hatíta summoned us to a divan, and declared distinctly that he required a month's time to make the necessary preparations for the journey to Aïr. Hence it would be necessary for us to separate from the caravan, and, taking our luggage with us to Ghát, to hire or buy other camels there. In reply to this unjust and absurd demand, we declared that we had no other choice but to follow the direct Sudán road in the company of the caravan, and that it was our firm intention, at any rate, not to lose more than seven days in Ghát. Hatíta having left us rather dissatisfied at our decision, our servants, who would gladly have idled away one or two months in Ghát as they had done in Múrzuk, insolently told us that we were very much mistaken in thinking that the road to Aïr was in any degree open to us, for it would first be necessary to send a courier to ask the permission of the

chiefs of that country to enter it, and we must wait for the answer.

While remaining firm in our resolution, we of course consented to go to Ghát, and tried at the same time to come to some final arrangement with our camel-drivers, promising them a small allowance for every day they should wait for us. They at length promised to spend ten days on the way to Arikím, a well three days' march south from Ghát, where they would wait six days, and then go on directly to Aïr. Attacking the old chief, therefore, on his weakest side, we sent him word the next morning that, as we had but little money with us, he would not succeed in getting any thing of value from us if he should try to keep us in Ghát for any length of time; and I insisted, with Yusuf Mukni, upon the dishonesty of the chief's conduct in trying to make an entirely new bargain after he had got all he demanded. His answer was satisfactory; and with the fervent hope that we should not be baffled in our attempt to discover new regions and new tribes of men, we left the further development of the affair to time.

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## CHAPTER III.

Hatíta—Meet a Caravan with Slaves—Perilous adventure of Dr. Barth—Narrow escape from Death—Arrival at Ghát—Negotiation with the Tawárek Chiefs for protection.

*June 5th.* We had to separate from the Tiny'lkum and from our luggage without having any certainty as to where and when we might overtake them. The chiefs of Ghát, too, had started in advance. The country had been rising all the way from Wadi Sháraba, which seems to form the lowest point in this whole region, and we ascended to-day very considerably. Pushing on in advance of our little troop, and passing a small caravan which was laden with provisions and merchandise

belonging to the pilgrim-caravan of the Tawáti, I soon came up with Hatíta and his companions. They were civil and kind; but the old friend of the English, who had an eye to a new marriage with some pretty Amóshagh girl some forty or fifty years younger than himself, gave me sundry expressive hints that I should spare him something of my outfit—either a pair of pistols, or a carpet, or a bernús, or any other little article. My refusal in no wise rendered him uncivil. While he was riding by my side, I took the opportunity of making a slight sketch of him, his English gun, the gift of some pre-

vious traveller, forming a striking contrast to his large shield of antelope hide, ornamented with a cross. Having crossed another valley of some extent, we descended into Wadi Elghom-udé (the Valley of the Camel), which, richly clothed with herbage, forms an inlet in the stony plateau from north to south, and has a very cheerful aspect. The encampment, spread over a great extent of ground, formed quite an ethnographical museum, comprising as it did six distinct small caravan-troops from different parts of Africa, and even of Europe.

*Saturday, June 6th.* A splendid morning, cool and fresh. We were happy to meet a small caravan coming from Sudán, which brought us some important pieces of news: first, that

they had come to Ghát in the company of five men belonging to the family of A'nnur (the chief of the Kél-owí), who, after a short stay, would return to their country; and, secondly, that the expedition of the Kél-owí had returned from Kánem, after having totally annihilated the Welád Slimán. They brought with them seventeen slaves, among whom were fifteen females, one with a very engaging countenance. After less than three miles' march, our companions looked about in the Wadi Telísaghé for a camping-ground. The valley proved of more than ordinary interest. It was hemmed in by steep cliffs of rock, and adorned with some fine talha-trees. With no great reluctance we followed the Tawárek chiefs, who kept along its steep western border, and at length chose the camping-ground at a spot where a western branch joins the principal wadi.

*Monday, July* 15*th.* This was a *dies ater* for me. Overweg and I had determined to start early in the morning for a remarkable mountain; but we had not been able to obtain from the Tawárek a guide to conduct us from thence to the next well, whither the caravan was to proceed by the direct road. Hatíta and Utaeti having again resisted all our solicitations for a guide, I at length, determined as I was to visit the mountain at any cost, started off in the confidence of being able to make out the well in the direction indicated to me. By ill luck, our provision of zummíta (a cool and refreshing paste on which we were accustomed to breakfast) was exhausted the day before, so that I was obliged to take with me dry biscuit and dates, the worst possible food in the desert when water is scarce.

But as yet I needed no stimulus, and vigorously pushed my way through the sand-hills, which afforded no very pleasant passage. I then entered a wide, bare, desolate-looking plain, covered with black pebbles, from which arose a few black mounds. Here I crossed the beginning of a *fiumara* richly overgrown with herbage, which wound along through the sand-hills toward the large valley-plain. It was the abode of a beautiful pair of maraiya (*Antelope Soemmeringii*), which, probably anxious for their young ones, did not make off when

roused by my approach, but stopped at a short distance, gazing at me and wagging their tails. Pursuing my way over the pebbly ground, which gradually rose till it was broken up by a considerable ravine descending from the western part of the mount, I disturbed another party of three antelopes, which were quietly lying down under the cover of some large blocks. At last I began to feel fatigued from walking over the sharp-pointed pebbles, as the distance proved to be greater than I had originally imagined, and I did not seem to have got much nearer to the foot of the Enchanted Mountain. In fact, it proved that the crest of the mount formed a sort of horse-shoe, so that its middle part, for which I had been steering all the time, in order to gain a depression which seemed to afford an easy ascent, was by far the remotest. I therefore changed my course and turned more eastward, but only met with more annoyance; for, ascending the slope which I hoped would soon convey me to the summit, I suddenly came to the steep precipice of a deep ravine, which separated me from the crest.

Being already fatigued, the disappointment, of course, depressed my spirits, and I had to summon all my resolution and energy in order to descend into the ravine and climb the other side. It was now past ten o'clock; the sun began to put forth its full power, and there was not the slightest shade around me. In a state of the utmost exhaustion I at length reached the narrow pinnacled crest, which was only a few feet broad, and exhibited neither inscriptions nor sculptures. I had a fine prospect toward the S. W. and N. E.; but I looked around in vain for any traces of our caravan. Though exposed to the full rays of the sun, I lay down on my high barbacan to seek repose; but my dry biscuit or a date was quite unpalatable, and being anxious about my little provision of water, I could only sip an insufficient draught from my small water-skin.

As the day advanced I got anxious lest our little band, thinking that I was already in advance, might continue their march in the afternoon, and, in spite of my weakness, determined to try to reach the encampment. I therefore descended the ravine in order to follow its course, which, according to

Hatíta's indications, would lead me in the direction of the well. It was very hot; and being thirsty, I swallowed at once the little water that remained. This was about noon; and I soon found that the draught of mere water, taken upon an empty stomach, had not at all restored my strength.

At length I reached the bottom of the valley. Hatíta had always talked as if they were to encamp at no great distance from the mountain; yet, as far as I could strain my view, no living being was to be seen. At length I became puzzled as to my direction, and, hurrying on as fast as my failing strength would allow, I ascended a mound crowned with an ethel-bush, and fired my pistols; but I waited in vain for an answer; a strong east wind was blowing dead against me. Reflecting a moment on my situation, I then crossed the small sand-hills, and, ascending another mound, fired again. Convinced that there could be nobody in this direction, at least at a moderate distance, I bethought myself that our party might be still behind, and, very unluckily, I kept more directly eastward.

The valley was here very richly overgrown with sebót; and, to my great delight, I saw at a distance some small huts attached to branches of the ethel-tree, covered on the top with sebót, and open in front. With joy in my heart I hastened on toward them, but found them empty; and not a living being was to be seen, nor was there a drop of water to be got.

My strength being now exhausted, I sat down on the naked plain, with a full view before me of the whole breadth of the wadi, and with some confidence expected the caravan. I even thought, for a moment, that I beheld a string of camels passing in the distance. But it was an illusion; and when the sun was about to set, not being able to muster strength enough to walk a few paces without sitting down, I had only to choose for my night's quarters between the deserted huts and an ethel-tree which I saw at a little distance. I chose the latter, as being on a more elevated spot, and therefore scrambled to the tree, which was of a respectable old age, with thick, tall branches, but almost leafless. It was my intention to light a fire, which promised almost certain deliverance; but I could

not muster sufficient strength to gather a little wood. I was broken down and in a feverish state.

Having lain down for an hour or two, after it became quite dark I arose from the ground, and, looking around me, descried to my great joy a large fire S.W. down the valley, and, hoping that it might be that of my companions, I fired a pistol, as the only means of communicating with them, and listened as the sound rolled along, feeling sure that it would reach their ears; but no answer was returned. All remained silent. Still I saw the flame rising toward the sky, and telling where deliverance was to be found, without being able to avail myself of the signal. Having waited long in vain, I fired a second time — yet no answer. I lay down in resignation, committing my life to the care of the Merciful One; but it was in vain that I tried to sleep, and, restless and in a high fever, I tossed about on the ground, looking with anxiety and fear for the dawn of the next day.

At length the long night wore away, and dawn was drawing nigh. All was repose and silence; and I was sure I could not choose a better time for trying to inform my friends, by signal, of my whereabouts. I therefore collected all my strength, loaded my pistol with a heavy charge, and fired — once — twice. I thought the sound ought to awaken the dead from their tombs, so powerfully did it reverberate from the opposite range and roll along the wadi; yet no answer. I was at a loss to account for the great distance apparently separating me from my companions, who seemed not to have heard my firing.

The sun that I had half longed for, half looked forward to with terror, at last rose. My condition, as the heat went on increasing, became more dreadful, and I crawled around, changing every moment my position, in order to enjoy the little shade afforded by the leafless branches of the tree. About noon there was, of course, scarcely a spot of shade left—only enough for my head—and I suffered greatly from the pangs of thirst, although I sucked a little of my blood till I became senseless, and fell into a sort of delirium, from which I only

recovered when the sun went down behind the mountains. I then regained some consciousness, and crawled out of the shade of the tree, throwing a melancholy glance over the plain, when suddenly I heard the cry of a camel. It was the most delightful music I ever heard in my life; and, raising myself a little from the ground, I saw a mounted Tarki passing at some distance from me, and looking eagerly around. He had found my footsteps in the sandy ground, and losing them again on the pebbles, was anxiously seeking traces of the direction I had taken. I opened my parched mouth, and crying, as loud as my faint strength allowed, "áman, áman" (water, water), I was rejoiced to get for answer, "íwah! íwah!" and in a few moments he sat at my side, washing and sprinkling my head, while I broke out involuntarily into an uninterrupted strain of "el hamdu lillâhi! el hamdu lillâhi!"

Having thus first refreshed me, and then allowed me a draught, which, however, I was not able to enjoy, my throat being so dry, and my fever still continuing, my deliverer, whose name was Musa, placed me upon his camel, mounted himself in front of me, and brought me to the tents. They were a good way off. The joy of meeting again, after I had been already despaired of, was great; and I had to express my sincere thanks to my companions, who had given themselves so much trouble to find me. But I could speak but little at first, and could scarcely eat anything for the next three days, after which I gradually recovered my strength. It is, indeed, very remarkable how quickly the strength of a European is broken in these climes, if for a single day he be prevented from taking his usual food. Nevertheless, I was able to proceed the next day (the 17th), when we kept more toward the slope of the Akakús, and here passed a broad lateral valley, rich in herbage, called A'dar-n-jelkum, after which we descended about a hundred feet from the pebbly ground into sandy soil forming a sort of valley called Ighelfannís, and full of ethel-trees and sebót. In such a locality we encamped two hours after noon, near splendid ethel-trees; but the strong north-easterly wind,

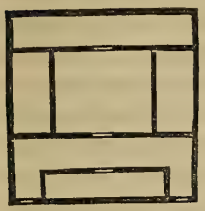
enveloping ourselves and baggage in thick clouds of sand, banished all enjoyment.

*Thursday, July 18th.* We continued our march with the expectation of soon reaching Ghát, the second great station on our journey. The valley after some time became free from ethel-trees, and opened a view of the little town, situated at the north-western foot of a rocky eminence jutting out into the valley, and girt by sand-hills on the west. Its plantation extends in a long strip toward S.S.W., while another group, formed by the plantation and by the noble-looking mansion of H j Ahmed, appeared toward the west. Here we were joined by Mohammed Sherif, a nephew of Háj Ahmed, in a showy dress, and well mounted on a horse; and we separated from Hatíta in order to take our way round the north side of the hill, so as to avoid exciting the curiosity and importunity of the townspeople. But a good many boys came out of the town, and exhibited quite an interesting scene as they recognised Yakúb (Mr. Richardson), who had visited this place on his former journey. Many people came out to see us, some offering us their welcome, others remaining indifferent spectators.

Thus we reached the new plantation of Háj Ahmed, the governor, as he is called, of Ghát, and found, at the entrance of the outbuilding which had been destined for our use, the principal men of the town, who received us with great kindness and politeness. The most interesting among them was Háj Ahmed himself, a man of grave and dignified manners, who, although a stranger to the place and a native of Tawát, had succeeded, through his address and his mercantile prosperity, in obtaining for himself here an almost princely position, and has founded in reality a new town, with large and splendid improvements, by the side of the old city. His situation as governor of Ghát, in reference, and in some degree in opposition to the Tawárek chiefs, is a very peculiar one, and requires, on his part, a good deal of address, patience, and forbearance. I am convinced that when we first arrived he did not view us with displeasure, but, on the contrary, was greatly pleased to receive under his roof a mission of her Britannic majesty's government, with

whose immense influence and power, and the noble purpose of whose policy he was not entirely unacquainted; but his extraordinary and precarious situation did not allow him to act freely, and, besides, I cannot say that he received from us so warm an acknowledgement as his conduct in the first instance seemed to deserve.

Besides him, the chief parties in our first conversation were his nephew, Ahmed Mohammed Sheríf (the man who came to meet us), a clever but forward lad, of pleasant manners — whom, in the course of my travels, I met several times in Sudán—and Mohammed Káfa, a cheerful, good-humored man.



Our quarters, of which the accompanying wood-cut gives the ground-plan, were certainly neither airy nor agreeable; but the hot sand-wind which blew without made them appear to us quite tolerable.

The town of Ghát (the favored locality of which might be presumed to have attracted a settlement at a very early age) is not mentioned by any Arabic author except the traveller Ebn Batúta in the 14th century, and seems never to have been a large place. Even now it is a small town of about 250 houses, but nevertheless of considerable commercial importance, which would become infinitely greater if the jealousy of the Tawáti would allow the opening of the direct road from Timbúktu, which seems to be under the special protection of the powerful chief Gemáma.

Our negotiation with the Tawárek chiefs might have been conducted with more success if a letter written by her majesty's government to the chief Jabúr had not been produced at the very moment when all the chiefs present were ready to subscribe the treaty. But their attention was entirely distracted from the object in view. This letter made direct mention of the abolition of the slave-trade; hence it became a very difficult and delicate matter, especially as Mr. Richardson's supplies of merchandise and presents at that moment were entirely in the hands of the merchant Háj Ibrahim, who, even if liberal

enough to abstain from intrigue against admitting the competition of English merchants, would be sure to do all in his power to prevent the abolition of the slave-trade.

It is a serious undertaking to enter into direct negotiation with these Tawárek* chiefs, the absolute masters of several of the most important routes to Central Africa.† It required great skill, entire confidence, and no inconsiderable amount of means, of which we were extremely deficient. To this vexation let there be added the petulant and indiscreet behavior of our servants, who were exasperated by the sufferings of the Rhámadán during the hottest season of the year, and were too well aware of the insufficiency of our means to carry out the objects of our mission, and the reader will easily understand that we were extremely glad when, after repeated delays, we were at length able to leave this place in the pursuance of our journey.

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## CHAPTER IV.

Departure from Ghát—Visit to Bárakat—Utaeti and the Kél-owí join the Caravan—Abd-el-Kader—Highest Mountain Pass—Alarming report of Robbers — Servant sick with the Guinea Worm — The Tiny'lkum join the Caravan — Marárraba — Mohammed Bóro threatens hostilities — Arrival at Asiu—Approach of an enemy—Great alarm in the Caravan — Three mysterious visitors — Shrewd advice of Abd-el-Kader — The Slaves' Dance — Strange and suspicious conduct of Didi — Arrival at frontier of Aïr or Asben.

["THE departure from Ghát," says Mr. Richardson, "in his journal, was for most of us an exciting moment. So far I had considered myself, comparatively, on familiar ground ; for although I had followed different routes, the great points of Múrzuk and Ghát were well known to me. Now, however,

* [Mr. Richardson writes the name of this tribe Tuarick. They are robbers by profession, and are the terror of all North Central Africa. — ED.]

† Jackson was the first who pointed out the importance of entering into direct negotiation with the Tawárek.

we were about to enter upon a region totally unknown, of which no authentic accounts from eye-witnesses — unless we count the varying reports of natives — had ever reached us; valleys unexplored; deserts unconfronted; countries which no European had ever surveyed. Before us, somewhere in the heart of the Sahara, raised into magnificence perhaps by the mirage of reports, was the unknown kingdom of Aheer (called Aïr, or Asben, by Dr. Barth), of which Leo Africanus hints something; but the names of whose great cities are scattered as if at hap-hazard over the maps, possibly hundreds of miles out of their right position. What reception shall we meet with in that untried land ?"]

On the morning of the 26th of July, continues Dr. Barth, I once more found myself on the back of my camel, and from my elevated seat threw a last glance over the pleasant picture of the oasis of Ghát. The town of Bárakat, lying at the foot of a sandy eminence stretching north and south, became now and then visible on our right, glittering through the thinner parts of the plantation.

Being prepared for a good day's march, as not only the Tiny'lkum were reported to have left Arikím several days ago, but as even the little caravan of Kél-owí, with whom we had made arrangements for protection and company on the road, was a considerable way in advance, we were greatly astonished when ordered to encamp near the scattered palm-trees at the extreme eastern end of the plantation. Utaeti, who had accompanied us all the way from Ghát on foot, chose the camping-ground. Mr. Richardson, who had been behind, was not less astonished when he found us encamped at so early an hour. But our camels, which seemed to have been worked during our stay at Ghát, instead of being allowed to recover their strength by rest and pasture, were in great want of some good feeding, and there was much aghúl (*Hedysarum Alhajji*) about our encampment. Toward noon we were visited by several Hogár,*

* [The whole race that inhabits between the borders of Fezzán and Timbúktu are Haghár (Hogár). The Tuaricks (Tawárek) of Ghát, are properly distinguished as Aghár (Azkár), and those located towards Tuat as Haghár.—*Richardson.*]

or rather Azkár, who proved a little troublesome, but not so much so as the townspeople, who caused us a great deal of annoyance both during the evening and on the following morning, and gave us some idea of what might await us farther on.

Being annoyed at our delay here, I accompanied two of Mr. Richardson's people and the young son of Yusuf Mukni, who wished to go into the town to buy a fowl. We were followed by two men from among the townspeople, who wanted to extort a present from me, and one of whom, by bawling out the characteristic phrase of his creed, made me fear lest he might succeed in exciting all the people against me. The town was distant from our encampment a mile and a quarter, and having once reached its wall, I determined to enter it. The town, or ágherim, forms a tolerably regular quadrangle, on an open piece of ground at the eastern foot of the sandy eminence, and is inclosed by a wall (agadór), built of clay, about five-and-twenty feet high, and provided with quadrangular towers. We entered it by the eastern gate, which, being defended by a tower, has its entrance from the side, and leads first to a small court with a well, from which another arched passage leads into the streets. Here several women, of good figure and decently dressed, were seated tranquilly, as it seemed, enjoying the cool air of the afternoon, for they had no occupation, nor were they selling anything. Although I was dressed in a common blue Sudán shirt, and tolerably sunburnt, my fairer complexion seemed to alarm them, and some of them withdrew into the interior of the houses crying "lá ilah." Still, I was not molested nor insulted by the people passing by, and I was pleased that several of them courteously answered my salute. They were apparently not of pure Berber blood. It appeared that a good many of the inhabitants had gone to their date-groves to look after the harvest, as the fruit was just about to ripen; hence the place, though in good repair and very clean, had a rather solitary appearance. There is no commerce in this place as in Ghát, the whole wealth of the inhabitants consisting in their plantations. Yet they are said to be better off than the population of Ghát, who are exposed to great and

continual extortions from the Tawárek on account of their origin, while the people of Bárakat enjoy certain privileges. The houses were all two or three stories high, and well built, the clay being nicely polished. A few palm-trees decorate the interior of the town. It is of still more diminutive size than Ghát, containing about two hundred houses; but it is built with great regularity.

Having stuck fast a while in a lane which had no thoroughfare, we at length got safely out of the little town of Bárakat by the south gate.

*Friday, July 26th.* Having waited a long time for Utaeti, we at length started without him, passing on our right a beautiful palm-grove, with as many as ten thousand trees, while our left was bordered by scattered gardens, where the people were busy in the cool of the morning irrigating the corn and vegetables, with the assistance of Sudán oxen. They came out to see us pass by, but without expressing any feeling, hostile or otherwise. After a mile and a half the plantation ceased, at the bed of a torrent which contained a pond of rain-water collected from the higher rocky ground, which here terminates.

But a more luxuriant valley, from three to four miles broad, begins further on, rich in herbage, and full of ethel-trees, all crowning the tops of small mounds. Here we encamped near a pond of dirty rain-water, frequented by great flocks of doves and water-fowl, and a well called I'zayen, in order to wait for Utaeti. The well was only about three feet deep, but the water brackish and disagreeable. Our friend came at length, and it was then decided to reach the Kél-owí; we therefore left our pleasant camping-ground about half past nine in the evening, favored by splendid moonlight. So interesting was the scene, that, absorbed in my thoughts, I got considerably in advance of the caravan, and, not observing a small path which turned off on the right, I followed the larger one till I became conscious of my solitary situation, and, dismounting, lay down in order to await my companions. Our caravan, however, had taken the other path, and my fellow-travellers

grew rather anxious about me; but my camel, which was evidently aware of the caravan ahead of us, would not give up this direction, which proved to be the right one, and after I had joined the caravan we were obliged to return to my former path.

Here we found the small Kél-owí caravan encamped in the midst of a valley well covered with herbage, near the well Karáda. Our new companions were perfect specimens of the mixed Berber and Sudán blood, and, notwithstanding all their faults, most useful as guides. It was two hours after midnight when we arrived; and, after a short repose, we started again tolerably early the next morning.

*July 28th.* I had a long conversation this morning with the Tawáti 'Abd el Káder, who had come with the pilgrim caravan as far as Ghát, and, together with another companion, had attached himself to the Kél-owí in order to go to A'gades. He was a smart fellow, of light complexion and handsome countenance, but had lost one eye in a quarrel. He was armed with a long gun with a good English lock, of which he was very proud. He had, when young, seen the rais (Major Laing) at Tawát, and knew something about Europeans, and chiefly Englishmen. Smart and active as this fellow was, he was so ungallant as to oblige his young female slave, who was at once his mistress, cook, and servant, to walk the whole day on foot, while he generally rode.

A little after noon we encamped in the corner of a valley rich in sebót, and adorned with some talha-trees, at the foot of cliffs of considerable height, which were to be ascended the following day.

*Monday, July 29th.* We began our task early in the morning. The path, winding along through loose blocks on a precipitous ascent, proved very difficult. Several loads were thrown off the camels; and the boat several times came into collision with the rocks, which, but for its excellent material, might have damaged it considerably. The whole of the cliffs consisted of red sandstone, which was now and then interrupted by clay slate of a greenish color. The ascent took us almost

two hours; and from the level of the plateau we obtained a view of the ridge stretching towards Arikím, the passage of which was said to be still more difficult. Having successively ascended and descended a little, we then entered a tolerably-regular valley, and followed its windings till about noon, when we once more emerged upon the rugged rocky level, where Amankay, the well-travelled búsu or mulatto of Tasáwa, brought us a draught of deliciously cool water, which he had found in a hollow in the rocks. Here our route meandered in a very remarkable way, so that I could not lay aside my compass for a moment; and the path was sometimes reduced to a narrow crevice between curiously-terraced buttresses of rocks.

The ground having at length become more open, we encamped about a quarter past three o'clock in a small ravine with a little sprinkling of herbage.

Here we had reached an elevation of not less than 4000 feet above the sea—the greatest elevation of the desert to be passed, or rather of that part of Africa over which our travels extended. The rugged and bristling nature of this elevated tract prevented our obtaining any extensive views. This region, if it were not the wildest and most rugged of the whole desert, limiting vegetation to only a few narrow crevices and valleys, would be a very healthy and agreeable abode for man, but it can only support a few nomadic stragglers. This, I am convinced, is the famous mountain Tántanah, the abode of the Azkár mentioned by the early Arabic geographers, although, instead of placing it to the south-west of Fezzán, they generally give it a southerly direction. I am not aware that a general name is now given to this region.

The descent took us two hours, when we reached the bottom of a narrow ravine about sixty feet broad, which at first was strewn with large blocks carried down by occasional floods, but a little farther on had a floor of fine sand and gravel. Here the valley is joined by a branch wadi, or another ravine coming from the north. Near the junction it is tolerably wide; but a few hundred yards farther on it narrows between steep

precipitous cliffs, looking almost like walls erected by the hand of man, and more than a thousand feet high, and forms there a pond of rain-water.

The locality was so interesting that I reluctantly took leave of it, fully intending to return the following day with the camels when they were to be watered; but, unfortunately, the alarming news which reached us at our camping-ground prevented my doing so. I will only observe that this valley, which is generally called E'geri, is identical with the celebrated valley Amaïs or Maïs, the name of which became known in Europe many years ago.

Having gone on a little more than three miles from the watering-place, we encamped, and the whole expedition found ample room under the wide-spreading branches of a single ethel-tree, the largest we had yet seen. Here the valley was about half a mile broad, and altogether had a very pleasant character.

I was greatly mortified on reflecting that the uncertainty of our relations in the country, and the precarious protection we enjoyed, would not allow me to visit Jánet, the most favored spot in this mountainous region; but a great danger was suddenly announced to us, which threatened even to drive us from that attractive spot. An expedition had been prepared against us by the mighty chieftain Sídi Jáfel ínek (son of Sakertáf), to whom a great number of the Imghád settled thereabouts are subject as bondmen or serfs.

Upon the circumstances of this announcement and its consequences, which have been fully detailed by the late Mr. Richardson, I shall not dwell, but will only observe that this transaction made us better acquainted with the character of each of our new friends.*

*August 2d.* We entered upon the first regular day's march since we left Ghát. After a stretch of nine miles, an interest-

* [Mr. Richardson says that the news came in a letter to Hatíta and Jabour. Subsequently he says they learned that Sídi Jafel did leave Jouret as if bound for Tajetterat, but it was for the purpose of giving his camels a feeding of herbage in that direction.—Ed.]

ing peak called Mount Tiska, rising to an elevation of about 600 feet, and surrounded by some smaller cones, formed the conspicuous limit of the rocky ridges. The country became entirely flat and level, but with a gradual ascent, the whole ground being formed of coarse gravel; and there was nothing to interrupt the monotonous plain but a steep ridge, called Mariaw, at the distance of about five miles to the east.

*Thursday, August 8th.* After a mile and a half's march the country became more open and free, and those ridges of granite rock which had been characteristic of the region just passed over ceased; but ahead of us considerable mountain masses were seen; the whole mountainous district, in which the long range called Isétteti is conspicuous, being named A'nahef.

In the evening Mr. Richardson bought from some sportsmen a quantity of the meat of the wadán, or (as the Tawárek call it) aúdád (*Ovis tragelaphos* †), an animal very common in the mountainous districts of the desert, and very often found in company with the wild ox. As for myself, I kept my tent, filling up from my memorandum-book my last day's journal, and then, full of the expectation that we were now about to enter more pleasant regions, lay down on my hard couch.

*August 11th.* We encamped in a valley joined by several branch vales, and therefore affording a good supply of herbage, which the Kél-owí were anxious to collect as a supply for the journey over the entirely bare tract to Asïu. As for ourselves, one of our servants being utterly unfit for work, we could not lay in a supply. We had been rather unfortunate with this fellow; for, having hired him in Múrzuk, he was laid up with the Guinea-worm from the very day that we left Ghát, and was scarcely of any use at all. This disease is extremely frequent among people travelling along this route; Amankay also was suffering from it, and at times became quite a burden. It attacked James Bruce even after his return to Europe; and I always dreaded it more than any other disease during my travels in Central Africa; but, fortunately, by getting a less

* [The Moufflon.—*Richardson.*]

serious one, which I may call sore legs, I got rid of the causes which I am sure, when acting in a stronger degree, produce the vena.

*Monday, August 12th.* Our route followed the windings of the valley, which, farther on, exhibited more ethel than talha-trees, besides detached specimens of the *Asclepias*. After a march of four miles and a half we came to two wells about four feet deep, and took in a small supply of water.

Delighted by the report of Amankay, who came to meet us, that he had succeeded in detaining the caravan of the Tiny'lkum at Aïsala, where they were waiting for us, we cheerfully continued our march; but before we reached the place the whole character of the country changed, the cliffs being craggy and split into huge blocks, héaped upon each other in a true Cyclopean style, such as only Nature can execute, while the entire hollow was covered with granite masses, scarcely allowing a passage. Descending these, we got sight of the encampment of the caravan in a widening of the hollow; and, after paying our compliments to all the members of this motley band, we encamped a little beyond, in a recess of the western cliffs.

The Tiny'lkum as well as Bóro Serki-n-turáwa were very scantily provided. They had lost so much time on the road on our account that it was necessary, as well as just, to leave them part of the provisions which they were carrying for us. All our luggage we found in the best state. Very much against their will, our companions had been supplied on the road with the flesh of nine camels, which had succumbed to the fatigues of the march; and some of them, and especially our energetic friend Háj 'Omar, had obtained a tolerable supply by hunting: besides wadáns, they had killed also several gazelles, though we had scarcely seen any.

They had been lingering in this place four days, and were most anxious to go on. But we had a great deal to do; for all our luggage was to be repacked, all the water-skins to be filled, and herbage and wood to be collected for the road. Besides Ibrahim, who was lame and useless, Overweg and my-

self had only two servants, one of whom (Mohammed, the liberated Tunisian slave) was at times a most insolent rascal.

In the afternoon the Tiny'lkum started in advance, and we followed them, the hollow gradually widening and becoming clothed with large knots of ethel-bushes. At the point where this valley joins another, and where a large quantity of herbage bedecked the ground, we found our friends encamped, and chose our ground a little beyond them, near a low cliff of granite rocks. All the people were busily employed in cutting herbage for the journey, while Mr. Richardson at length succeeded in satisfying Utaeti, who was to return. He had been begging most importunately from me; and, by way of acknowledging my obligations to him, I presented him, on parting, with a piece of white muslin and a red sash, together with something for Hatíta.

These parties were scarcely quieted when others took their place, urging their pretensions to our acknowledgments; and we had just started the next day when Bóro Serki-n-turáwa dispatched, underhand, my smart friend the Tawáti 'Abd el Káder, with full instructions to give me a lecture on his boundless power and influence in the country which we were fast approaching. I was aware of this before, and knew that, in our situation as unprotected travellers in a new country, we ought to have secured his friendly disposition from the beginning; but the means of the expedition being rather limited, Mr. Richardson had made it a principle never to give till compelled by the utmost necessity, when the friendly obligation connected with the present was, if not destroyed, at least greatly diminished.

*August* 15*th*. We arrived at Marárraba, the "half-way" between Ghát and Aïr, a place regarded with a kind of religious awe by the natives, who, in passing, place each a stone upon the mighty granite blocks which mark the spot. To our left we had irregular rocky ground, with a few elevations rising to a greater height, and ahead a very remarkable granite crest, sometimes rising, at others descending, with its slopes enveloped in sand up to the very top. This ridge, which is called Giféng-

wetáng, and which looks very much like an artificial wall erected between the dry desert and the more favored region of the tropics, we crossed, further on, through an opening like a saddle, and among sand-hills, where the slaves of our companions ran about to pick up and collect the few tufts of herbage that were scattered over the surface, in order to furnish a fresh mouthful to the poor wearied animals. At four o'clock the sand-hills ceased, and were succeeded by a wide pebbly plain, on which, after six miles' travelling, we encamped.

Our encampment was by no means a quiet one; and to any one who paid due attention to the character and disposition of the people, serious indications of a storm, which was gathering over us, became visible. Mohammed Bóro, who had so often given vent to his feelings of revenge for the neglect with which he had been treated, was all fire and fury; and, stirring up the whole encampment, he summoned all the people to a council, having, as he said, received intelligence that a large party of Hogár was coming to Asïu. Not having paid much attention to the report about Sidi Jáfel's expedition, I became anxious when made aware of the man's fury, for I knew the motives which actuated him.

*Friday, August* 16*th.* We started early. Gravelly and pebbly grounds succeeded each other, the principal formation being granite; but when, after a march of about thirteen miles, we passed the narrow sandy spur of a considerable ridge approaching our left, a fine species of white marble became visible. We then passed a rugged district, of peculiar and desolate appearance, called Ibéllakang, and crossed a ridge of gneiss covered with gravel. Here, while a thunder-storm was rising in the east, our caravan, to our great regret, divided, the Tiny'lkum turning off toward the east, in order, as we were told, to look for a little herbage among the sand-hills. Meanwhile, thick, heavy clouds, which had been discharging a great quantity of rain toward the east, broke over us at a quarter past four o'clock in the afternoon, when we were just in the act of crossing another rocky crest covered with gravel. A violent sand-storm, followed by heavy rain, which was driven

along by a furious gale, soon threw the caravan into the utmost confusion, and made all observation impossible; but, fortunately, it did not last long.

It was on descending from this crest, while the weather cleared up, that the Háusa slaves, with a feeling of pride and joy, pointed out in the far distance "dútsi-n-Absen" (Mount Absen). Here the granite formation had been gradually succeeded by sandstone and slate. This district, indeed, seems to be the line of demarcation between two different zones.

At twenty minutes past six o'clock we at length encamped, but were again in the saddle at eleven o'clock at night, and in pale moonlight, sleepy and worn out as we were, began a dreadful night's march. But altogether it proved to be a wise measure taken by the Kél-owí, who had reason to be afraid lest the Hogár, of whom they appeared to have trustworthy news, might overtake us before we reached the walls of Asïu, and then treat us as they pleased. Our companions, who were, of course, themselves not quite insensible to fatigue, as night advanced became very uncertain in their direction, and kept much too far to the south. When day dawned, our road lay over a flat, rocky, sandstone surface, while we passed on our left a locality remarkable for nothing but its name, Efínagha. We then descended from the rocky ground into the extremely shallow valley of Asïu, overgrown with scanty herbage of a kind not much liked by the camels. Here we encamped, near a group of four wells, which still belong to the Azkár, while a little farther on there are others which the Kél-owí regard as their own property. How it was that we did not encamp near the latter I cannot say. But the people were glad to have got so far. The wells, or at least two of them, afforded an abundant supply of water; but it was not of a good quality, and had a peculiar taste, I think on account of the iron ore with which it was impregnated.

This, then, was Asïu, a place important for the caravan-trade at all times, on account of the routes from Ghadámes and from Tawát joining here, and which did so even as far back as the time when the famous traveller Ebn Batúta returned

from his enterprising journey to Sudán homeward by way of Tawát (in the year 1853–4). Desolate and melancholy as it appeared, it was also an important station to us, as we thought that we had now left the most difficult part of the journey behind us; for, though I myself had some forebodings of a danger threatening us, we had no idea that the difficulties which we should have to encounter were incomparably greater than those which we had passed through. Mr. Richardson supposed that because we had reached the imaginary frontier of the territories of the Azkár and Kél-owí, we were beyond the reach of any attack from the north. With the utmost obstinacy he reprobated as absurd any supposition that such a frontier might be easily crossed by nomadic roving tribes, asserting that these frontiers in the desert were respected much more scrupulously than any frontier of Austria, notwithstanding the innumerable host of its land-waiters. But he was soon to be undeceived on all the points of his desert diplomacy, at his own expense and that of us all.

*Sunday, August 18th.* After a two hours' march we began to ascend, first gradually, then more steeply, all the rocks hereabouts consisting of slate, greatly split and rent, and covered with sand. In twenty-five minutes we reached the higher level, which consisted of pebbly ground with a ridge running, at the distance of about four miles, to the west.

While we were quietly pursuing our road, with the Kél-owí in the van, the Tiny'lkum marching in the rear, suddenly Mohammed the Sfaksi came running behind us, swinging his musket over his head, and crying lustily, "He awelád, awelád bú, 'aduna já" ("Lads, lads, our enemy has come,") and spreading the utmost alarm through the whole caravan. Every body seized his arms, whether musket, spear, sword, or bow; and whosoever was riding jumped down from his camel. Some time elapsed before it was possible, amid the noise and uproar, to learn the cause of the alarm. At length it transpired. A man named Mohammed, belonging to the caravan, having remained a little behind at the well, had observed three Tawárek mounted on mehára approaching at a rapid rate; and while he

himself followed the caravan, he left his slave behind to see whether others were in the rear. The slave, after a while, overtook him with the news that several more camels had become visible in the distance, and then Mohammed and his slave hurried on to bring us the intelligence. Even Mr. Richardson, who, being rather hard of hearing, judged of our situation only from the alarm, descended from his slender little she-camel and cocked his pistols. A warlike spirit seemed to have taken possession of the whole caravan; and I am persuaded that, had we been attacked at this moment, all would have fought valiantly. But such is not the custom of freebooting parties: they will cling artfully to a caravan, and first introduce themselves in a tranquil and peaceable way, till they have succeeded in disturbing the little unity which exists in such a troop, composed as it is of the most different elements; they then gradually throw off the mask, and in general attain their object.

When at length a little tranquillity had been restored, and plenty of powder and shot had been distributed among those armed with firelocks, the opinion began to prevail that, even if the whole of the report should be true, it was not probable that we should be attacked by daylight. We therefore continued our march with a greater feeling of security, while a body of archers was dispatched to learn the news of a small caravan which was coming from Sudán, and marching at some distance from us, behind a low ridge of rocks. They were a few Tébu, with ten camels and between thirty and forty slaves, unconsciously going to meet a terrible fate; for we afterward learned that the Imghád of the Hogár, or rather the Hadánara, disappointed at our having passed through their country without their getting anything from us, had attacked this little troop, murdering the Tébu, and carrying off their camels and slaves.

At noon we began to ascend on rocky ground, and, after a very gradual ascent of three miles, reached the higher level, strewn with pebbles, but exhibiting further on a rugged slaty soil, till we reached the valley Fénorang. This valley, which is a little less than a mile in breadth, is famous for its rich

supply of herbage. Notwithstanding, therefore, the danger which threatened us, it was determined to remain here not only this, but also the following day.

As soon as the loads were taken off their backs, the half-starved camels fell to devouring eagerly the fine herbage offered them. Meanwhile we encamped as close together as possible, preparing ourselves for the worst, and looking anxiously around in every direction. But nobody was to be seen till the evening, when the three men on their mehára made their appearance, and, being allowed to approach the caravan, made no secret of the fact that a greater number was behind them.

Aware of what might happen, our small troop had all their arms ready, in order to repulse any attack; but the Kél-owí and the few Askár who were in our caravan kept us back, and, after a little talk, allowed the visitors to lie down for the night near our encampment, and even solicited our hospitality in their behalf. Nevertheless, all of them well knew that the strangers were freebooters, who could not but have bad designs against us; and the experienced old Awed el Khér, the sheikh of the Káfila, came expressly to us, warning and begging us to be on our guard, while Bóro Serki-n-turáwa began to play a conspicuous part, addressing the Kél-owí and Tiny'lkum in a formal speech, and exhorting them to stand by us. Everybody was crying for powder, and nobody could get enough. Our clever but occasionally very troublesome servant Mohammed conceived a strategical plan, placing on the north side of the two tents the four pieces of the boat, behind each of which one of us had to take his station in case of an attack.

Having had some experience of freebooters' practices in my former wanderings, I knew that all this was mere farce and mockery, and the only way of insuring our safety would have been to prevent these scouts from approaching us at all. We kept watch the whole night; and of course the strangers, seeing us well on our guard, and the whole caravan still in high spirits and in unity, ventured upon nothing.

In the morning our three guests (who, as I made out, did

not belong to the Askár, but were Kél-fadé from the northern districts of Aïr) went slowly away, but only to join their companions, who had kept at some distance beyond the rocky ridge which bordered, or, rather, interrupted the valley to the westward. There some individuals of the caravan, who went to cut herbage, found the fresh traces of nine camels. In spite of outward tranquillity, there was much matter for anxiety and much restlessness in the caravan, and suddenly an alarm was given that the camels had been stolen; but, fortunately, it proved to be unfounded.

'Abd el Káder, the Tawáti of whom I have spoken above, trying to take advantage of this state of things, came to Mr. Overweg, and earnestly pressed him to deposit everything of value with Awed el Khér, the Kél-owí, and something, "of course," with him also. This was truly very disinterested advice; for, if anything had happened to us, they would, of course, have become our heirs. In the evening we had again three guests, not, however, the same as before, but some of their companions, who belonged to the Hadánara, one of the divisions of the Azkár.

*Tuesday, August 20th.* At an early hour we started with an uneasy feeling. With the first dawn the true believers had been called together to prayer, and the bond which united the Mohammedan members of the caravan with the Christian travellers had been loosened in a very conspicuous manner. Then the encampment broke up and we set out, not, however, as we had been accustomed to go latterly, every little party starting off as soon as they were ready, but all waiting till the whole caravan had loaded their camels, when we began our march in close order, first along the valley, then entering upon higher ground, sometimes gravelly, at others rocky.

Being in the first line of our caravan, and not feeling so sure on the camel as on foot, I dismounted, and marched forward, leading my méheri by the nose-cord, and with my eyes fixed upon the scene before us. But how much was I surprised when I saw two of the four unknown individuals executing a wild sort of armed dance together with the Kél-owí, while the

others were sitting quietly on the ground. Much perplexed, I continued to move slowly on, when two of the men who had danced suddenly rushed upon me, and, grasping the rope of my camel, asked for tribute. Quite unprepared for such a scene under such circumstances, I grasped my pistol, when, just at the right time, I learned the reason and character of this curious proceeding.

The little eminence on the top of which we had observed the people, and at the foot of which the armed dance was performed, is an important locality in the modern history of the country which we had reached; for here it was that when the Kél-owí (at that time an unmixed and pure Berber tribe, as it seems) took possession of the country of Old Góber, with its capital, Tin-shamán, a compromise or covenant was entered into between the red conquerors and the black natives that the latter should not be destroyed, and that the principal chief of the Kél-owí should only be allowed to marry a black woman. And, as a memorial of this transaction, the custom has been preserved, that when caravans pass the spot where the covenant was entered into, near the little rock Máket-n-ikelán, "the slaves" shall be merry and be authorized to levy upon their masters a small tribute. The black man who stopped me was the "serki-n-baï" (the principal or chief of the slaves).

These poor merry creatures, while the caravan was proceeding on its march, executed another dance; and the whole would have been an incident of the utmost interest if our minds and those of all the well-disposed members of the caravan had not been greatly oppressed and vexed with sad forebodings of mishap. The fear was so great that the amiable and sociable Slimán (one of the Tiny'lkum, who at a later period manifested his sympathy with us in our misfortunes) begged me most urgently to keep more in the middle of the caravan, as he was afraid that one of those ruffians might suddenly rush upon me and pierce me with his spear.

We encamped at length on an open gravelly plain, surrounded by ridges of rocks, without pitching our tents; for

our unwished-for guests had, in the face of the Tiny'lkum, openly declared that their design was to kill us, but that they wanted first to get more assistance. Notwithstanding this, Mr. Richardson even to-night was obliged to feed these ruffians — such is the weakness of a caravan; although, in our case, the difference of religion and consequent want of unity could not but greatly contribute to paralyze its strength. I here heard that some of the party were Imghád from Tádomat.

Under such circumstances, and in such a state of feeling, it was impossible to enjoy the sport and frolics of the slaves (that is, of the domestic slaves) of the Kél-owí, who, with wild gestures and cries, were running about the encampment to exact from all the free individuals of the caravan their little Máket-n-ikelán tribute, receiving from one a small quantity of dates, from another a piece of muslin or a knife, from another a shirt. Everybody was obliged to give something, however small. Notwithstanding our long day's march, Overweg and I found it necessary to be on the watch the whole night.

*August* 21*st.* Notwithstanding our perilous situation, I could not help straying about, and found, on the blocks over the tebki or pond, some coarse rock-sculptures representing oxen, asses, and a very tall animal, which, according to the Kél-owí, was intended to represent the giraffe.

While I was enjoying the scenery of the place, Dídi stepped suddenly behind me, and tried to throw me down, but, not succeeding, laid his hands from behind upon the pistols which I wore in my belt, trying, by way of experiment, whether I was able to use them notwithstanding his grasp; but, turning sharply round, I freed myself from his hold, and told him that no effeminate person like himself should take me. He was a cunning and insidious fellow, and I trusted him the least of our Kél-owí friends.* A'nnur warned us that the freebooters intended to carry off the camels that we ourselves were riding

* [Dr. Barth compares the Tuaricks (Tawárek) of Ghát and the Haghar to lions and tigers, and the Kailouees (Kél-owí) to snakes.—*Richardson.*]

in the night, and it was fortunate that we had provided for the emergency, and were able to fasten them to strong iron rings.

While keeping the first watch during the night, I was enabled by the splendid moonlight to address a few lines in pencil to my friends at home.

*Thursday, August* 22*d.* The Kél-owí having had some difficulty in finding their camels, we did not move at an early hour.

Leaving the pleasant valley of Gébi by a small opening bordered with large blocks of granite, while peaks of considerable elevation were seen towering over the nearer cliffs, we entered another large valley called Tághajít, but not quite so rich in vegetation, and encamped here in an open space a little after noon. The valley is important as being the first in the frontier region of Aïr or Asben where there is a fixed settlement — a small village of leathern tents, inhabited by people of the tribe of Fade-ang, who preserve a certain independence of the Kél-owí, while they acknowledge the supremacy of the Sultan of A'gades.

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## CHAPTER V.

Alarm in the Camp—Order of Battle—Leave Tághajít—The party robbed by the Tawárek Freebooters — Mount Asben — The Europeans are offered the alternative of turning Muslims or of being put to death — But escape by submitting to a fresh robbery — Selúfiet — Encamp near Tintaghodé — A terrible Freshet — Narrow escape of the whole party from being Drowned — Arrival of a new Escort — Arrival at Tintéllust, the capital of Aïr or Asben — Cost of the Journey.

We were tolerably composed, and reclining at our ease (though our weapons were always at hand), when we were a little alarmed by a demand of six riyals for the use of the pond in Jínninau. Our amiable but unenergetic friend A'nnur seconded the demand, by way of satisfying in some way the in-

truders upon our caravan. These claims were scarcely settled when a dreadful alarm was raised by the report that a body of from fifty to sixty Mehára were about to attack us.

Though no good authority could be named for this intelligence, the whole caravan was carried away by excitement, and all called out for powder and shot. Bóro Serki-n-turáwa once more delivered eloquent speeches, and exhorted the people to be courageous; but many of the Tiny'lkum, very naturally, had a great objection to come to open hostilities with the Tawárek, which might end in their being unable to travel any longer along this route.

In this moment of extreme excitement Khweldi arrived, the chief merchant of Múrzuk, whom we had not expected to see, though we knew that he was on his way from Sudán to the north. We were in a situation wherein he was able to render us the most material service, both by his influence upon the individuals of whom our caravan was composed, and by his knowledge of the country whose frontier territories we had just entered. But unfortunately, though a very experienced merchant, he was not a practical, sharp-sighted man; and instead of giving us clear information as to the probable amount of truth in the reports, and what sort of difficulties we might really have to encounter, and how, by paying a sort of passage-money to the chiefs, we might get over them, he denied in private the existence of any danger at all, while openly he went round the whole caravan extolling our importance as a mission sent by a powerful government, and encouraging the people to defend us if we should be in danger. In consequence of his exhortations the Tiny'lkum took courage, but had the imprudence and absurdity to supply also the three intruders with powder and shot, who, though protesting to be now our most sincere friends, of course made no other use of the present than to supply their band with this material, which alone gave us a degree of superiority, and constituted our security.

Any one accustomed to look closely at things could not be at all satisfied with the spirit of our caravan, notwithstanding its noise and waste of powder, and with its entire want of union;

but the scene which followed in the bright moonlight evening, and lasted throughout the night, was animating and interesting in the extreme. The whole caravan was drawn up in a line of battle, the left wing being formed by ourselves and the detachment of the Kél-owí who had left their own camping-ground and posted themselves in front of our tent, while the Tiny'lkum and the Sfaksi formed the centre, and the rest of the Kél-owí, with Bóro, the right wing, leaning upon the cliffs, our exposed left being defended by the four pieces of the boat. About ten o'clock a small troop of Mehára appeared, when a heavy fusilade was kept up over their heads, and firing and shouting were continued the whole night.

Our situation remained the same the whole of the following day; and it became very tedious, as it prevented us from making excursions, and becoming acquainted with the features of the new country which we had entered. Another alarm having been raised in vain, the leaders of the expedition which was collected against us came out, with the promise that they would not further molest the caravan if the Christians were given up to them. This demand having been at once rejected, we were left in tolerable tranquillity for a while, as the freebooters now saw that, in order to attain their object, which was plunder, they should be obliged to bring really into the field the whole force they had so long boasted of.

Khweldi paid us another visit in the afternoon; and as he wanted to make us believe that there was really no danger in this country, so he did not fail to represent the state of things in Sudán as the most favorable we could have wished for.

*Saturday, August 24th.* We left at length our camping-ground in Taghajít, and soon passed Khweldi's encampment, which was just about to break up.

Early in the afternoon we encamped in the valley Imenán, a little outside the line of herbage and trees, on an open spot at the southern foot of a low rocky eminence. But before sunset our tranquillity was greatly disturbed by the appearance of five of our well-known marauding companions mounted on camels, and leading six others. They dismounted within less

than a pistol-shot from our tents, and with wild, ferocious laughter were discussing their projects with the Azkár in our caravan.

I could scarcely suppress a laugh when several of the Tiny'lkum came and brought us the ironical assurance that there was now perfect security, and that we might indulge in sound sleep. Others came with the less agreeable but truer warning that we ought not to sleep that night. The greatest alarm and excitement soon spread through the caravan. Later in the evening, while our benevolent guests were devouring their supper, Mohammed el Túnsi called myself and Overweg aside, and informed us that we were threatened with great danger indeed, these Hogár, as he called them, having brought a letter from Nakhnúkhen, authorizing them to collect people in the territory of the Kél-owí, and there to despatch us in such a way that not even a trace of us should be found, but not to touch us so long as we were within the confines of Azkár.

I was convinced that this account, so far as it regarded Nakhnúkhen, was an absurd fiction of our persecutors, and I tried to persuade our servant to this effect. When he returned from us to the caravan a council of war was held, and a resolution passed that, if a number of from twenty to thirty people came to attack us, they would undertake to defend us, but if we should be threatened by a more numerous host, they would try to make a compromise by yielding up a part of our goods. In consequence of this resolution, all possible warlike preparations were made once more, and Bóro delivered another speech; but it seemed rather irreconcilable with such a state of things that while we, as well as the Tiny'lkum, brought all our camels close to our tents at an early hour, the Kél-owí left theirs out the whole night. Perhaps, being natives of the country, they did not expect that the freebooters would seize their animals.

Be this as it may, great anxiety arose when, early in the morning, it was found that the camels were gone; and when day broke, our guests of last night, who had stolen away before midnight, were seen riding down from the rocky ridge on the south, and, with a commanding air, calling the principal men

of the caravan to a council. Then followed the scenes which Mr. Richardson has so graphically described.

[The following is Mr. Richardson's account of this affair —

"The conferences were now fairly opened, and we found that the hostile troop was composed of a collection of all the Sheikhs of the neighboring districts, with their followers, and several regular bandits countenanced by a Shereef Marabout. Our people understood at once that the affair was far more serious than they had anticipated, and began to be downhearted. They knew that they could not proceed without their camels, and from their expression and looks, I could foresee that the matter at last would have to be ended by a compromise.

"The enemy made various propositions more or less agreeable to our ears. The first was simply that we as infidels should be given up to be put to death—an idea which, luckily nobody seemed to consider proper or feasible. They then insisted that we should pass on no further, but should return by the way we had come — also declined. Next they demanded that we should become Muslims — a proposition which our people refused even to mention to us. Finally, they coolly asked for half our goods and baggage — no doubt their ultimate object.

"When they found that we would not agree to any of their proposals, but were determined rather to resist by the strong hand, a compromise was agreed upon. We paid them in goods to the value of three hundred and fifty reals, or about fifty pounds sterling, in order to get back our camels and be allowed to proceed. Even then our caravan lost nine animals, so that the Kailowees suffer more even than we do. We were obliged to put up with all this, and were glad enough when the Shereef Marabout at length professed himself satisfied, and volunteered his protection for the future.

"A wild and lawless set are these borderers of Aheer.* The gathering was evidently a spontaneous one of all the blackguards of the country."]

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[* Aheer, Dr. Barth calls Aïr or Asben.]

At length all seemed to be settled. The whole host of the enemy, besides its rich booty, had been treated with an enormous quantity of mohamsa; and we had repeatedly been assured that now we might be certain of reaching the chief A'nnur's residence without any further disturbance, when the little A'nnur, a man of honest but mild character, came to beg us most earnestly to be on our guard, lest behind the rocks and ridges there might be some persons in ambush. At length we left this inhospitable place; but we were far from being at ease, for it was clear that there was still a cloud on the horizon, which might easily gather to another storm.

After a short march we encamped in a small valley without pitching our tents. The Merábet* who had accompanied and sanctioned the expedition against us was now in our company, and that was thought to be the best means of preventing any further molestation. This man, as I made out afterward, was no other than Ibrahím Aghă-batúre (the son of Háj Beshír, a well-known and influential person settled in Ferwán, or Iferwán), who, in consequence of these proceedings, was afterward punished severely by the Sultan of A'gades. With Aghă-batúre himself I met accidentally at a later period, in 1853, near Zinder, when he was greatly astonished to see me still alive, notwithstanding all the hardships I had gone through. Bóro, who passed the evening with him in reading the Kurán, treated him hospitably — with Mr. Richardson's mohamsa.

*Monday, August 26th.* After a march of three miles and a half, having ascended a little, we obtained a clear view of the great mountain mass which, lying between Tídik on the north and Tintagh-odé on the west, seems not to be marked with a collective proper name, although it is very often called by the people Mount Absen.

But we were still at some distance from these picturesque mountains, and had to cross a very rugged and dreary waste, where, however, we caught sight of the first ostrich as yet

* [Merábet. This name is written by Mr. Richardson, Marabout. The term is applied to a sort of priests.—Ed.]

seen on our journey. We encamped at length in a shallow valley devoid of any interesting features.

During the night, while I was on the first watch, walking round the encampment of the caravan, it struck me that at one end of it, beyond the Kél-owí, a small party was separately encamped. When I went there for the first time, all was quiet; but a little after eleven o'clock (for in general, on such a journey, every one lies down at an early hour), hearing a noise on that side, I saw two armed Tawárek saddle their mehára and make off in the gloom of night. From this circumstance I concluded that something was still going on against us; but as it appeared useless to make an alarm, I only took the precaution to put Overweg, who succeeded me on the watch, upon his guard.

*Tuesday, August 27th.* We started at a very early hour, but fortunately the moonlight was so clear and beautiful that I was not interrupted for a moment in marking down all the features of the country, at least along our route, for our situation was now too precarious to allow of our observing angles to fix the exact position of mountains lying at some distance from us.

We were only about eight miles from Selúfiet, where we might expect to be tolerably safe; and we had not the least doubt that we were to sleep there, when suddenly, before noon, our old Azkár mádogu Awed el Khér turned off the road to the right, and chose the camping-ground at the border of a broad valley richly overgrown with herbage. As if moved by supernatural agency, and in ominous silence, the whole caravan followed; not a word was spoken.

It was then evident that we were to pass through another ordeal, which, according to all appearance, would be of a more serious kind than that we had already undergone. How this plot was laid is rather mysterious, and it can be explained only by supposing that a diabolical conspiracy was entered into by the various individuals of our caravan. Some, certainly, were in the secret; but A'nnur, not less certainly, was sincere in our interest, and wished us to get through safely.

But the turbulent state of the country did not allow this weak, unenergetic man to attain his object. Black mail had been levied upon us by the frontier tribes; here was another strong party to be satisfied, that of the Merábetín or Anislimen, who, enjoying great influence in the country, were in a certain degree opposed to the paramount authority of the old chief A'nnur in Tintéllust; and this man, who alone had power to check the turbulent spirit of these wild and lawless tribes, was laid up with sickness. In A'gades there was no sultan, and several parties still stood in opposition to each other, while by the great expedition against Welád Slimán, all the warlike passions of the people had been awakened, and their cupidity and greediness for booty and rapine excited to the utmost pitch. All these circumstances must be borne in mind in order to form a right view of the manner in which we were sacrificed.

The whole affair had a very solemn appearance from the beginning, and it was apparent that this time there were really other motives in view besides that of robbing us. Some of our companions evidently thought that here, at such a distance from our homes and our brethren in faith, we might yield to a more serious attack upon our religion, and so far were sincerely interested in the success of the proceeding; but whether they had any accurate idea of the fate that awaited us, whether we should retain our property and be allowed to proceed, I cannot say. But it is probable that the fanatics thought little of our future destiny; and it is absurd to imagine that, if we had changed our religion as we would a suit of clothes, we should have thereby escaped absolute ruin.

Our people, who well knew what was going on, desired us to pitch only a single tent for all three of us, and not to leave it, even though a great many people should collect about us. The excitement and anxiety of our friend A'nnur had reached the highest pitch, and Bóro was writing letter after letter. Though a great number of Merábetín had collected at an early hour, and a host of other people arrived before sunset, the storm did not break out; but as soon as all the people of our

caravan, arranged in a long line close to our tent, under the guidance of the most respected of the Merábetín as Imám, had finished their Mughreb prayers, the calm was at an end, and the scene which followed was awful.

Our own people were so firmly convinced that, as we stoutly refused to change our religion, though only for a day or two, we should immediately suffer death, that our servant Mohammed, as well as Mukni, requested us most urgently to testify, in writing, that they were innocent of our blood. Mr. Richardson himself was far from being sure that the sheikhs did not mean exactly what they said. Our servants and the chiefs of the caravan had left us with the plain declaration that nothing less than certain death awaited us; and we were sitting silently in the tent, with the inspiring consciousness of going to our fate in a manner worthy alike of our religion and of the nation in whose name we were travelling among these barbarous tribes, when Mr. Richardson interrupted the silence which prevailed with these words: "Let us talk a little. We must die; what is the use of sitting so mute?" For some minutes death seemed really to hover over our heads, but the awful moment passed by. We had been discussing Mr. Richardson's last propositions for an attempt to escape with our lives, when, as a forerunner of the official messenger, the benevolent and kind-hearted Slimán rushed into our tent, and with the most sincere sympathy stammered out the few words, "You are not to die."

The amount of the spoil taken from us was regulated by the sum which we had paid to our Kél-owí escort, the party concerned presuming that they had just the same demands upon us as our companions. The principal, if not the only actors in this affair were the Merábetín; and A'nnur, the chief of Tintéllust, afterward stated to us that it was to them we had to attribute all our losses and mishaps. There was also just at this period a young sheríf from Medína at Tin-tagh-odé, with whom we afterward came into intimate relations, and who confessed to us that he had contributed his part to excite the hatred of the people against the Christian intruders. Expe-

rienced travellers have very truly remarked that this sort of sherífs are at the bottom of every intrigue. To the honor of Bóro Serki-n-turáwa, I have to state that he was ashamed of the whole affair, and tried to protect us to the best of his power, although in the beginning he had certainly done all that he could to bring us into difficulties.

It was one of the defects of the expedition that our merchandise, instead of comprising a few valuable things, was, for the most part, composed of worthless bulky objects, and that it made all the people believe that we were carrying with us enormous wealth, while the whole value of our things scarcely amounted to two hundred pounds. We had, besides, about ten large iron cases filled with dry biscuit, but which all the ignorant people believed to be crammed with money. The consequence was, that the next morning, when all the claims had at length been settled, and we wanted to move on, there was still great danger that the rabble, which had not yet dispersed, would fall upon the rest of our luggage; and we were greatly obliged to the Sfaksi, who not only passed some of our luggage as his own, but also dashed to pieces one of the iron cases, when, to the astonishment of the simple people, instead of heaps of dollars, a dry and tasteless sort of bread came forth from the strong inclosure.

Meanwhile, the persecuted Christians had made off, accompanied by some of the Kél-owí, and at length the whole caravan collected together. The valley was here very beautiful; and having crossed some smaller hollows, we reached the fine valley of Selúfiet, rich in trees and bushes, but without herbage, while at the distance of less than a mile on our left the high peak of the Tímge stood erect.

The village of Selúfiet itself, consisting of sixty or seventy grass huts of peculiar shape, lies on the southern side of a broad valley running here from east to west, and richly overgrown with górebas, abísgas, and talha-trees, but without any grass, for which the ground seems too elevated and stony. Our camping-ground also was of this bare character, and not at

all pleasing; it was protected in the rear by large buttresses of rock.

We had not yet enjoyed much tranquillity and security, and we here felt its want the more keenly, as, our camel-drivers having been hired only as far as this place, we had henceforth to take charge of all our things ourselves. A large mob of lawless people came about us in the course of the night, howling like hungry jackals, and we were obliged to assure them, by frequent firing, that we were on the watch. We had been obliged to leave our camels to the care of the Kél-owí; but the freebooters having succeeded in dispersing the camels in every direction, our friends were unable in the evening to collect either their own animals or ours, and in the night they were all driven away, as we were told, by the Merábetín themselves, who so repeatedly assured us of their protection.

In the letters which we sent to Europe during our next day's halt in this place, by a caravan of Arabs and Kél-owí, the largest part of which was already in advance, we were unable to give a perfectly satisfactory account of our progress; nevertheless, we had made a great step in advance, and were justified in hoping that we should be able to overcome whatever difficulties might still await us, and the more so as we were now able to place ourselves in direct communication with the chief of Tintéllust, from whom we might soon expect to receive an escort.

*Thursday, August 29th.* Some of the stolen camels having been recovered, though fifteen were still wanting, we were enabled to move from this uncomfortable place the next day, leaving behind us, however, the boat and some other things, which were valueless to any but ourselves.

*August 30th.* After marching along this valley for two miles, we encamped on an open space encircled with the green spreading bushes of the abísga, a little beyond Tin-tagh-odé, a village of the Merábetin or Anislimen.

We remained in tolerable quiet and repose the whole day; but it was reported that the next day, during which we should be obliged to stay here in order to wait for the restitution of

our camels, there would be a great concourse of Mehára to celebrate a marriage in the village; but, fortunately, the immense quantity of rain which fell in the whole of the neighborhood, and which, on the 1st of September, changed our valley into the broad bed of a rapid river, placing all our property in the utmost danger, prevented this design from being executed, and, while it seemed to portend to us a new misfortune, most probably saved us from a much greater mischief.

Having just escaped from the dangers arising from the fanaticism and the rapacity of the people, it was a hard trial to have to contend again against an element the power of which, in these border regions of the desert, we had been far from appreciating and acknowledging. We had no antecedents from which to conclude the possibility that in this region a valley, more than half a mile wide, might be turned, in twenty-four hours, into a stream violent enough to carry away the heaviest things, not excepting even a strong, tall animal like the camel; and it was with almost childish satisfaction that, in the afternoon of Saturday, we went to look at the stream, which was just beginning to roll its floods along. It was then a most pleasant and refreshing sight; the next day it became a grand and awful picture of destruction, which gave us no faint idea of a deluge. To the description of the flood itself, as it is given by Mr. Richardson,* I shall not add anything;

* [The following is Mr. Richardson's description above referred to.

About four o'clock this afternoon, there was a cry in the encampment —not that the Haghár were coming — not that another troop of robbers and wild people were advancing upon us to attack us; but the cry was "El wadi jee!" "The wadi is coming!" Going out to look I saw a broad white sheet of foam advancing from the south between the trees of the valley. In ten minutes after, a river of water came pouring along, and spread all around us, converting the place of our encampment into an isle of the valley. The current in its deepest part was very powerful, capable of carrying off sheep and cattle, and of uprooting trees. This is one of the most interesting phenomena I have witnessed during my present tour in Africa. The scene indeed was perfectly African. Rain had been observed falling in the south; black clouds and darkness covered that zone of the heavens; and an hour afterwards came pouring down the river of water into the dry parched-up valley.

but I have to mention the following circumstances, which seem not to have been placed in their true light.

Half an hour after midday the waters began to subside, and ceased to endanger our little island, which, attacked on all sides by the destructive fury of an impetuous mountain torrent swollen to the dimensions of a considerable river, was fast crumbling to pieces, and scarcely afforded any longer space enough to hold our party and our things. Suddenly, on the western shore, a number of Mehára were seen, while, at the same time, the whole population of Tin-tagh-odé, in full battle array, came from the other side, and formed themselves in regular groups, partly round our hill, and partly opposite to the Tiny'lkum. While we looked with distrust on these preparations, most of our muskets having been wetted, the mischievous Mokhammed approached our hill, and, addressing me with a very significant and malevolent look, cried out, "Lots of people!" The previous afternoon, when I had requested him, while squatting himself insolently upon my carpet, to leave this only piece of comfort for my own use, he threatened me in plain terms, and in the coolest manner, that the following night I should lie on the bottom of the wadi, and he upon my carpet. Not put out by his malice, though I was rather doubtful as to the friendly intentions of all these people, I told him that the Mehára were our friends, sent by the chief A'nnur as an escort to conduct us safely to Tintéllust. With a threatening gesture he told me I should be sadly disappointed, and went away. Fortunately, it turned out that the people mounted on camels were really A'nnur's escort; but, at the same time, a large band of robbers had collected, in order to make a last effort to take possession of our property before we should obtain the protection of A'nnur, and only withdrew reluctantly when they saw that they should meet with a strong opposition.

We were then justified in hoping that we had at length entered a harbor affording us a certain degree of security, and with thankful and gladdened hearts we looked forward to our further proceedings. Our present situation, however, was far

being comfortable: almost all our things were wet; our tents were lying in the mud at the bottom of the stream; and our comfortable and strong, but heavy Tripolitan tent was so soaked with water and earth that a camel could scarcely carry it. Leaving at length our ill-chosen camping-ground, Overweg and I were passing the principal torrent (which was still very rapid), when the camels we rode, weakened by the dreadful situation they had been in the whole day, were unable to keep their feet, and, slipping on the muddy bottom, set us down in the midst of the stream. Soaked and barefoot, having lost my shoes, I was glad to reach in the dark the new encampment which had been chosen on the elevated rocky ground a little beyond the border of the valley. Our beds were in the most cheerless condition, and in an unhealthy climate would certainly have been productive of bad consequences. Aïr, however, in every respect may be called the Switzerland of the desert.

Fortunately, the weather on the following morning cleared up, and, although the sun came forth only now and then, a fresh wind was very favorable for drying, and it was pleasant to see one thing after another resume a comfortable appearance. The whole encampment seemed to be one large drying-ground.

Having recovered a little from the uncomfortable state in which we had passed the night, we went to pay a visit to the principal men of our new escort, who had seated themselves in a circle, spear in hand, with their leader Hámma (a son-in-law of the chief A'nnur) in the midst of them. Entire strangers as both parties were to each other, and after the many mishaps we had gone through, and the many false reports which must have reached these men about our character, the meeting could not fail to be somewhat cool. We expressed to the leader our sincere acknowledgment of the service which the chief A'nnur had rendered us, and begged him to name us to such of his companions as were related to the chief. On this occasion, Mohammed, the chief's cousin, who afterward

became a great friend of mine, made himself remarkable by his pretensions and arrogance.

*Tuesday, September 3d.* We made a very interesting march through a country marked with bold features, and showing itself in more than one respect capable of being the abode of man.

The country here became very mountainous, and the ascent steep, till we reached a valley called by some of the Kél-owí the upper course of the valley of Tin-téllust. Having reached the crest of the elevation, we began to descend, first gradually along smaller valleys, afterwards more steeply into a deep ravine, while in the distance toward the southwest, above the lower hills, a ridge of considerable elevation became visible. Gradually the ravine widened, and became clothed with fine herbage. Here, to our great disappointment, the little A'nnur, Dídi, Fárreji, and several of the Tiny'lkum (among them the intelligent and active Ibrahím) left us in order to reach their respective residences.

Of course, A'nnur ought to have seen us safe to the chief's residence; but, being without energy, he allowed our new companions, with whom we had not yet been able to become acquainted, to extort from us what they could, as the Fade-ang and the Anislimen had done before. Keeping along some smaller valleys, we reached, about noon, a considerable pond of rain-water, where I watered my thirsty camel. Almost all the smaller valleys through which we passed incline toward the west.

Much against our wish, we encamped a little after three o'clock P. M. in a widening of the valley Afís, near the southern cliffs (which had a remarkably shattered appearance), there being a well at some little distance. We had scarcely encamped when a troublesome scene was enacted, in the attempt to satisfy our escort, the men not being yet acquainted with us, and making importunate demands. But there was more turmoil and disturbance than real harm in it; and though half of the contents of a bale of mine were successfully carried off by the turbulent Mohammed, and a piece of scarlet cloth was cut into

numberless small shreds in the most wanton manner, yet there was not much to complain of, and it was satisfactory to see Hámma (A'nnur's son-in-law, and the chief of the escort) display the greatest energy in his endeavors to restore what was forcibly taken.

*Wednesday, September 4th.* We were glad when day dawned; but with it came very heavy rain, which had been portended last night by thickly accumulated clouds and by lightning.

Having waited till the rain seemed to have a little abated, we started at seven o'clock, in order to reach the residence of the powerful chief A'nnur, in whose hands now lay the whole success of the expedition. Though all that we had heard about him was calculated to inspire us with confidence in his personal character, yet we could not but feel a considerable degree of anxiety.

Soon emerging from the valley of Afís, we ascended rocky ground, over which we plodded while the rain poured down upon us with renewed violence, till we reached another valley, and a little farther, on its northern side, the small village Sárara, or Asárara, divided into two groups, between which we passed. We then crossed low rocky ground intersected by many small beds of torrents descending from the mountains on our left, which rise to a considerable elevation. All these channels incline toward the south, and are thickly clothed with bushes.

It was half past nine o'clock, the weather having now cleared up, when we entered the valley of Tintéllust, forming a broad sandy channel, bare of herbage, and only lined with bushes along its border. On the low rocky projections on its eastern side lay a little village, scarcely discernible from the rocks around; it was the long and anxiously looked-for residence of the chief E' Núr or A'nnur. Our servants saluted it with a few rounds. Leaving the village on the eastern border of the sandy bed, we went a little farther to the south, keeping close to the low rocky projection on our right, at the foot of which was the little tebki or water-pond, and encamped on a sand-hill rising in a recess of the rocky offshoots, and adorned at its

foot with the beautiful green and widely-spreading bushes of the *Capparis sodata*, while behind was a charming little hollow with luxuriant talha-trees. Over the lower rocky ground rose Mount Tunán, while toward the south the majestic mountain-group of Búnday closed the view.

Altogether it was a most beautiful camping-ground, where in ease and quiet we could establish our little residence, not troubled every moment by the intrusion of the townspeople; but it was rather too retired a spot, and too far from our protector, being at least eight hundred yards from the village, in a country of lawless people, not yet accustomed to see among them men of another creed, of another complexion, and of totally different usages and manners.

This spot being once selected, the tents were soon pitched; and, in a short time, on the summit of the sand-hill, there rose the little encampment of the English expedition, consisting of four tents forming a sort of semicircle, opening toward the south, the point to which all our arduous efforts were directed —Mr. Richardson's tent toward the west, Overweg's and mine adjoining it toward the east, and each flanked by a smaller tent for the servants. Doubtless this sand-hill will ever be memorable in the annals of the Asbenáwa as the "English Hill," or the "Hill of the Christians."*

* [Mr. Richardson, the leader of the expedition, seems to have been especially annoyed at the extortions, or rather robberies of the Tawárek during this part of the journey. He says, "The passage of the expedition from Tajetterat to Tintalous (Tintéllust) has cost the government £250 sterling. *I cannot get over this.*"]

## CHAPTER VI.

Visit to the great chief A'nnur—His Character—Rain—Mr. Richardson's tent Robbed—'Abd-el-Kader—Provisions—Dr. Barth sets out for A'gades, leaving Mr. Richardson and Dr. Overweg at Tintéllust—His unlucky attempt to ride a Bullock—His Arrival at A'gades.

We saw the old chief on the day following our arrival. He received us in a straightforward and kindly manner, observing very simply that even if, as Christians, we had come to his country stained with guilt, the many dangers and difficulties we had gone through would have sufficed to wash us clean, and that we had nothing now to fear but the climate and the thieves. The presents which were spread out before him he received graciously, but without saying a single word. Of hospitality he showed no sign. All this was characteristic.

We soon received further explanations. Some days afterward he sent us the simple and unmistakable message that, if we wished to proceed to Sudán at our own risk, we might go in company with the caravan, and he would place no obstacle in our way; but if we wanted him to go with us and to protect us, we ought to pay him a considerable sum. In stating these plain terms, he made use of a very expressive simile, saying that as the leffa (or snake) killed everything that she touched, so his word, when it had once escaped his lips, had terminated the matter in question; there was nothing more to be said. I do not think this such an instance of shameful extortion as Mr. Richardson represents it, considering how much we gave to others who did nothing for their pay, and how much trouble we caused A'nnur. On the contrary, having observed A'nnur's dealings to the very last, and having arrived under his protection safely at Kátsena, I must pronounce him a straightforward and trustworthy man, who stated his terms

plainly and dryly, but stuck to them with scrupulosity; and as he did not treat us, neither did he ask anything from us, nor allow his people to do so. I shall never forgive him for his niggardliness in not offering me so much as a drink of fúra or ghussub-water when I visited him, in the heat of the day, on his little estate near Tasáwa; but I cannot withhold from him my esteem both as a great politician in his curious little empire, and as a man remarkable for singleness of word and purpose.

Having come into the country as hated intruders, pursued by all classes of people, we could not expect to be received by him otherwise than coldly; but his manner changed entirely when I was about to set out for A'gades, in order to obtain the good-will of the sultan of the country. He came to our encampment to see me off, and from that day forth did not omit to visit us every day, and to maintain the most familiar intercourse with us. So it was with all the people; and I formed so many friendships with them that the turbulent Mohammed, A'nnur's cousin, used often to point to them as a proof how impossible it was that he could have been the instigator of the misdeeds perpetrated on the night preceding our arrival in Tintéllust, when we were treated with violence and our luggage was rifled. Still we had, of course, many disagreeable experiences to make before we became naturalized in this new country.

It was the rainy season; and the rain, setting in almost daily, caused us as much interest and delight (being a certain proof that we had reached the new regions after which we had so long been haukering) as served to counterbalance the trouble which it occasioned. Sometimes it fell very heavily, and, coming on always with a dreadful storm, was very difficult to be kept out from the tent, so that our things often got wet. The heaviest rain we had was on the 9th of September, when an immense torrent was formed, not only in the chief valley, but even in the small ravine behind our encampment. Yet we liked the rain much better than the sand-storm. In a few days nature all around assumed so fresh and luxuriant a character,

that, so long as we were left in repose, we felt cheered to the utmost, and enjoyed our pleasant encampment, which was surrounded by masses of granite blocks, wide-spreading bushes of the abísga, and large, luxuriant talha-trees, in wild and most picturesque confusion. It was very pleasant and interesting to observe every day the rapid growth of the little fresh leaves and young offshoots, and the spreading of the shady foliage.

Monkeys now and then descended into the little hollow beyond our tents to obtain a draught of water, and numbers of jackals were heard every night roving about us, while the trees swarmed with beautiful ring-doves and hoopoes, and other smaller birds. The climate of Aïr has been celebrated from the time of Leo, on account "della bontà e temperanza dell' aere." But, unfortunately, our little English suburb proved too distant from the protecting arm of the old chief; and after the unfortunate attack in the night of the 17th of September, which, if made with vigor, would inevitably have ended in our destruction, we were obliged to move our encampment, and, crossing the broad valley, pitch it in the plain near the village.

But the circumstances connected with this attack were so curious that I must relate them in a few words. The rain, which had wetted all our things, and made us anxious about our instruments and arms, seemed to abate; and Overweg and I decided, the very day preceding the attack in question, on cleaning our guns and pistols, which had been loaded for some time; and having cleaned them, and wishing to dry them well, we did not load them again immediately. In the afternoon we had a visit from two well-dressed men, mounted on a mehára; they did not beg for anything, but inspected the tents very attentively, making the remark that our tent was as strong as a house, while Mr. Richardson's was light and open at the bottom.

The moon shed a splendid light over the interesting wilderness; and our black servants being uncommonly cheerful and gay that night, music and dancing were going on in the village, and they continued playing till a very late hour, when they fell

asleep. Going the round of our encampment before I went to lie down, I observed at a little distance a strange camel, or rather méheri, kneeling quietly down with its head toward our tents. I called my colleagues, and expressed my suspicion that all was not right; but our light-hearted and frivolous servant Mohammed calmed my uneasiness by pretending that he had seen the camel there before, though that was not true. Still I had some sad foreboding, and, directing my attention unluckily to the wrong point, caused our sheep to be tied close to our tent.

Being uneasy, I did not sleep soundly; and a little after two o'clock I thought I heard a very strange noise, just as if a troop of people were marching with a steady step round our tents, and muttering in a jarring voice. Listening anxiously for a moment, I felt sure that there were people near the tent, and was about to rush out; but again, on hearing the sound of music proceeding from the village, I persuaded myself that the noise came from thence, and lay down to slumber, when suddenly I heard a louder noise, as if several men were rushing up the hill, and, grasping a sword and calling aloud for our people, I jumped out of the tent; but there was nobody to be seen. Going then round the hill to Mr. Richardson's tent, I met him coming out half dressed, and begging me to pursue the robbers, who had carried away some of his things. Some of his boxes were dragged out of the tent, but not emptied: none of his servants were to be seen except S'aid, all the rest having run away without giving an alarm, so that all of us might have been murdered.

[The following is Mr. Richardson's account of this night attack of the robbers:

"I was again restless when night came on, and was still awake when the moon was near setting, about three A. M., under tent, at which time suddenly I heard the wife of S'aid squall, with the sound of the trampling of feet around my tent. I conjectured immediately what was up. 'Another attack!' I repeated mechanically to myself, and getting up, began to dress myself. At first I thought our assailants were at some

distance off; but when the boxes began to be drawn from around my tent, I exclaimed, 'Oh, oh, they are upon me, and are carrying off the things.' Still, I had become so accustomed to these attacks, or attempted attacks, by night and by day, that I felt quite indifferent, and began to dress myself as if nothing was the matter, or simply as if some one had called me up suddenly to breakfast, or that we were to start off early on our way.

"I found my clothes, however, with some difficulty, and tore them a little in putting them on. At last I went out. All our people were up, as well as the Germans. On inquiring the news, I learned that a band of robbers had attacked us; from six to ten had been counted. My servants had all decamped with the exception of S'aid. Some of them had been struck by the robbers, and others had been threatened, and had ran away. My servant S'aid, as soon as he sallied out and saw what was going on, seized his matchlock and pointed it at the assailants, especially those who were removing the saharees (large square boxes). Upon this they began to quake, and, parleying with S'aid, begged for mercy, and said they would go immediately if the powder was not used against them. S'aid took them at their word, and they ran off. They had already, however, carried away about nine pounds of tea, packed in tin boxes. It is probable they mistook these boxes of tin for silver, or considered their contents to be money, gold, and silver, although their lightness should have undeceived them. As the Arabic Bibles and Testaments were packed up with the tea, they carried off a Bible with them. But this they afterwards dropped on the road, and it was picked up by a shepherdess and brought to me. They also took away a pewter dish, and two bags of ground ghaseb, besides ripping open the bags of the blacks. This appears to be the amount of the robbery and devastation. Very fortunate are we it was not worse. We had watched many nights, and had often loaded our guns; but this night, when the thieves came, we were miserably unprepared to receive them. The Germans had been cleaning their guns, and all were unloaded. Overweg had his

*Robbery of Mr. Richardson's Tent.*

fowling-piece charged with small shot. At length we got two or three guns in trim, and our servants followed the robbers; but nothing of them was to be seen. The cowards had fled at the first show of resistance. In the morning, on searching through the small valley up which they had come, we were surprised to find marks of no less than thirteen camels — enough to carry away all our goods. So that it is probable there were some thirteen robbers, a part of whom remained with the camels whilst the others attacked us. Amankee, on being knocked down with a shield, got up again and ran off to the town, giving the alarm everywhere."]

But immediately after this accident, proceeds Dr. Barth, we received the distinct assurance of protection both from the Sultan of A'gades and from the great m'allem Azóri; and I began to plan my excursion to A'gades more definitely, and entered into communication with the chief on this point. Meanwhile I collected a great deal of information about the country, partly from a Tawáti of the name of 'Abd el Káder (not the same who accompanied us on the road from Ghát), and partly from some of the Tiny'lkum, who, having left us the day after our arrival in Tintéllust, had dispersed all over the country, some pasturing their camels in the most favored localities, others engaged in little trading speculations, and paying us a visit every now and then. Small caravans came and went, and among them one from Sudán, with its goods laden almost entirely on pack-oxen — a most cheerful sight, filling our hearts with the utmost delight, as we were sure that we had now passed those dreary deserts where nothing but the persevering and abstemious camel can enable man to maintain communications.

At length, then, we were enabled to write to government, and to our friends in Europe, assuring them that we had now overcome, apparently, most of the difficulties which appeared likely to oppose our progress, and that we felt justified in believing that we had now fairly entered upon the road which would lead directly to the attainment of the objects of the expedition.

With regard to our provisions, Overweg and I were at first rather ill off, while Mr. Richardson, although he had been obliged to supply food on the road to troops both of friends and foes, had still a small remnant of the considerable stores which he had laid in at Múrzuk. We had been led to expect that we should find no difficulty in procuring all necessaries, and even a few luxuries, in A′sben (and carriage was so dear that we were obliged to rely upon these promises); but we were now sadly disappointed. After a few days, however, the inhabitants being informed that we were in want of provisions, and were ready to buy, brought us small quantities of Guinea-corn, butter — the botta (or box made of rough hide, in the way common over almost the whole of Central Africa) for two or two and a half mithkáls—and even a little fresh cheese; we were also able to buy two or three goats, and by sending Ibrahím, who had now recovered from his Guinea-worm, to A′sodi, where provisions are always stored up in small quantities, we obtained a tolerable camel-load of durra or sorghum.

But I could not relish this grain at all, and as I was not able to introduce any variety into my diet, I suffered much; hence it was fortunate for me that I went to A′gades, where my food was more varied, and my health consequently improved. I afterward became accustomed to the various preparations of sorghum and *Pennisetum*, particularly the asída or túvo, and found that no other food is so well adapted for a hot climate; but it requires a good deal of labor to prepare it well, and this, of course, is a difficult matter for a European traveller, who has no female slave or partner to look after his meals. Our food during our stay in A′sben was so ill prepared (being generally quite bitter, owing to the husk not being perfectly separated from the grain) that no native of the country would taste it.

Meanwhile, my negotiation with the chief with regard to my going to A′gades, which I managed as silently and secretly as possible, went on prosperously, and on the 30th of September I took my leave of him, having with me on the occasion a present for himself, worth about eighty riyáls, or eleven pounds

sterling, and the presents intended for the Sultan of A'gades, in order that he might see what they were and express his opinion upon them; and I was greatly pleased to find that he was satisfied with both. He promised me perfect safety, although the undertaking looked a little dangerous, and had a letter written to 'Abd el Káder (or, in the popular form, Kádiri — this was the name of the new sultan), wherein he recommended me to him in the strongest terms, and enumerated the presents I meant to offer to him.

But as soon as my intention transpired, all the people, uninvited as well as invited, hastened to give me their best advice, and to dissuade me from embarking in an undertaking which would certainly be my ruin. Conspicuous among these motley counsellors was a son of Háj 'Abdúwa, the presumptive heir of A'nnur, who conjured me to abandon my design. These people, indeed, succeeded in frightening Yusuf Mákni, Mr. Richardson's interpreter, whom the latter wished to send with me; but as for myself, I knew what I was about, and had full confidence in the old chief's promise, and was rather glad to get rid of Mákni, whom I well knew to be a clever, but no less malicious and intriguing person. With difficulty I persuaded Mohammed, our Tunisian shushán, to accompany me; and I also succeeded in hiring Amánkay, Mr. Richardson's active black Búzu servant, who, however, on this trip proved utterly useless, as we had no sooner set out than he began to suffer from his old complaint of Guinea-worm, and was the whole time too lame for service.

I then arranged with Hámma, A'nnur's son-in-law, under whose especial protection I was to undertake my journey, but whom I had to pay separately. I gave him the value of eleven mithkáls, or about one pound sterling, for himself, and hired from him two camels, each for six mithkáls. After various delays, which, however, enabled me to send off two more of my journals, together with letters, to Múrzuk, by the hand of a half-caste Kél-owí of the name of Báwa Amákita, our departure was definitively fixed for the 4th of October.

*Friday, October 4th.* At length the day arrived when I was

to set out on my long-wished-for excursion to A'gades; for although at that time I was not aware of the whole extent of interest attaching to that place, it had nevertheless been to me a point of the strongest attraction. For what can be more interesting than a considerable town, said to have been once as large as Tunis, situated in the midst of lawless tribes, on the border of the desert and of the fertile tracts of an almost unknown continent, established there from ancient times, and protected as a place of rendezvous and commerce between nations of the most different character, and having the most various wants? It is by mere accident that this town has not attracted as much interest in Europe as her sister town Timbúktu.

It was a fine morning, with a healthy and refreshing light breeze, invigorating both body and mind. The old chief, who had never before visited our encampment, now came out to pay us his compliments, assuring me once more that "my safety rested upon his head." But his heart was so gladdened at witnessing our efforts to befriend the other great men of his country that his habitual niggardliness was overcome, and with graceful hospitality he resigned one of his bullocks to our party.

The little caravan I was to accompany consisted of six camels, five-and-thirty asses, and two bullocks, one of which was allotted to me, till my protector Hámma should be able to hire a camel for me. But, although well accustomed to ride on horseback as well as on a camel, I had never yet in my life tried to sit astride on the broad back of a bullock; and the affair was the more difficult as there was no saddle, nor anything to sit upon, except parcels of luggage not very tightly fastened to the animal's back, and swinging from one side to the other.

After the first bullock had been rejected as quite unfit, in its wild, intractable mood, to carry me, or indeed anything else, and when it had been allowed to return to the herd, the second was at length secured, the luggage fastened somehow on his back, and I was bid to mount. I must truly confess that I should have been better pleased with a horse, or even

an ass; but still, hoping to manage matters, I took my seat, and, bidding my fellow-travellers farewell, followed my black companions up the broad valley by which we had come from the north. But we soon left it and ascended the rocky ground, getting an interesting view of the broad and massive Mount Eghellál before us.

Having at first thought my seat rather too insecure for making observations, I grew by degrees a little more confident, and, taking out my compass, noted the direction of the road, when suddenly the baggage threatened to fall over to the right, whereupon I threw the whole weight of my body to the left, in order to keep the balance; but I unluckily overdid it, and so all at once down I came, with the whole baggage. The ground was rocky; and I should inevitably have been hurt not a little if I had not fallen upon the muzzle of my musket, which I was carrying on my shoulder, and which, being very strong, sustained the shock, and kept my head from the ground. Even my compass, which I had open in my left hand, most fortunately escaped uninjured; and I felt extremely glad that I had fallen so adroitly, but vowed never again to mount a bullock.

I preferred marching on foot till we reached the valley Eghellúwa, where plenty of water is found in several wells. Here we halted a moment, and I mounted behind Hámma, on the lean back of his camel, holding on by his saddle; but I could not much enjoy my seat, as I was greatly annoyed by his gun sticking out on the right, and at every moment menacing my face. I was therefore much pleased when we reached the little village of Tiggeréresa, lying on the border of a broad valley well clothed with talha-trees, and a little further on encamped in a pleasant recess formed by projecting masses of granite blocks; for here I was told we should surely find camels, and, in fact, Hámma hired two for me, for four mithkáls each, to go to and return from A'gades. Here we also changed our companions, the very intelligent Mohammed, a son of one of A'nnur's sisters, returning to Tintéllust, while the turbulent Mohammed, our friend from Afís, came to attend

us, and with him Hámmeda, a cheerful and amiable old man, who was a fair specimen of the improvement derivable from the mixture of different blood and of different national qualities; for, while he possessed all the cheerfulness and vivacity of the Góber nation, his demeanor was nevertheless moderated by the soberness and gravity peculiar to the Berber race; and though, while always busy, he was not effectively industrious, yet his character approached very closely to the European standard.

He was by trade a blacksmith, a more comprehensive profession in these countries than in Europe, although in general these famous blacksmiths have neither iron nor tools to work with. All over the Tawárek country the "énhad" (smith) is much respected, and the confraternity is most numerous. An "énhad" is generally the prime minister of every little chief. The Arabs in Timbúktu call these blacksmiths "m'allem," which may give an idea of their rank and respected character. Then there is also the "m'allema," the constant female companion of the chief's wife, expert above all in beautiful leather works.

In order to avoid, as much as possible, attracting the attention of the natives, I had taken no tent with me, and sheltered myself at night under the projecting roof of the granite blocks, my Kél-owí friends sleeping around me.

*Saturday, October 5th.* Hámma was so good as to give up to me his fine tall méheri, while he placed his simple little saddle or "kiri" on the back of the young and ill-trained camel hired here, a proceeding which in the course of our journey almost cost him his ribs. In truth, I had no saddle; yet my seat was arranged comfortably by placing first two leathern bags filled with soft articles across the back of the camel, and then fastening two others over them lengthwise, and spreading my carpet over all. Even for carrying their salt, the Kél-owí very rarely employ saddles, or if they do, only of the lightest description, made of straw, which have nothing in common with the heavy and hot "hawiya" of the Arabs.

[The journey to A'gades was not attended with any remarkable incident, and occupied only four days longer.]

*Wednesday, October 9th.* We encamped at an early hour in the afternoon near a water-course, but did not succeed in obtaining water by digging, so that we could not even cook a little supper. Farther down the valley there had been a copious supply of water, and we had passed there a numerous caravan of asses near a large pool; but my companions, who were extremely negligent in this respect, would not then lay in a supply. Several Tawárek, or rather Imóshagh and Imghád, encamped around us for the night, and thus showed that we were approaching a centre of intercourse.

Owing to our want of water, we started at a very early hour, and, ascending gradually, after a little more than three miles, reached the height of the pebbly plateau on which the town of A'gades has been built. After having received several accounts of this naked "hammáda" or "tenere" stretching out to the distance of several days, I was agreeably surprised to find that it was by no means so dreary and monotonous as I had been led to expect, forming now and then shallow depressions a few feet only lower than the pebbly surface, and sometimes extending to a considerable distance, where plenty of herbage and middle-sized acacia were growing. The road was now becoming frequented; and my companions, with a certain feeling of pride, showed me in the distance the high "Mesállaje," or minaret, the glory of A'gades. Having obtained a supply of water, and quenched our thirst, to my great astonishment we proceeded to encamp at half past seven in the morning in one of these shallow hollows; and I learned that we were to stay here the whole day till near sunset, in order to enter the town in the dark.

We were here met by two horsemen from A'gades (the son of the kádhi and a companion), who, I suppose, had come out on purpose to see us. They had a very *chevaleresque* look, and proved highly interesting to me, as they were the first horsemen I had seen in the country. The son of the kádhi, who was a fine, tall man, was well dressed in a tobe and trow-

sers of silk and cotton; he carried only an iron spear besides his sword and dagger, but no shield. But, for me, the most interesting part of their attire was their stirrups, which are almost European in shape, but made of copper. Of this metal were made also the ornaments on the harness of their horses; their saddles also were very unlike what I had yet seen in these countries, and nearly the same as the old Arab saddle, which differs little from the English.

While encamped here I bought from Hámma a black Sudán tobe, which, worn over another very large white tobe or shirt, and covered with a white bernús, gave me an appearance more suited to the country, while the stains of indigo soon made my complexion a few shades darker. This exterior accommodation to the custom of the natives my friend Hámma represented as essential for securing the success of my undertaking; and it had, besides, the advantage that it gave rise to the rumor that the Sultan of A'gades himself had presented me with this dress.

At length, when the sun was almost down, and when it was known that the Kél-gerés and Itísan (who had come to A'gades in very great numbers, in order to proceed on their journey to Bílma after the investiture of the new sultan) had retreated from their encampments at some distance from the town, we started, and were soon met by several people, who came to pay their compliments to my companions. On entering the town, we passed through a half-deserted quarter, and at length reached the house of A'nnur, where we were to take up our abode. But arriving in a new place at night is never very pleasant, and must be still less so where there are no lamps; it therefore took us some time to make ourselves tolerably comfortable. But I was fortunate in receiving hospitable treatment from our travelling companion 'Abd el Káder, who, being lodged in a chamber close to mine, sent me a well-prepared dish of kuskusu, made of Indian-corn. I could not relish the rice sent by one of A'nnur's wives, who resides here, owing to its not being seasoned with any salt, a practice to which I became afterward more accustomed, but which rather

astonished me in a country the entire trade of which consists in salt.

Having spread my mat and carpet on the floor, I slept well, in the pleasing consciousness of having successfully reached this first object of my desires, and dreaming of the new sphere of inquiry on which I had entered.

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## CHAPTER VII.

Dr. Barth in A'gades. — 'Abdallah — Visit to the Sultan of A'gades — Gracious reception—Visit to Mohammed Bóro—Markets of A'gades—Dr. Barth goes to see a national dance; is pursued to his quarters by armed Natives, and has a narrow escape from Death — Great Festival and Installation of the Sultan—Divan—Warlike expedition projected—Salt Caravan—Expedition resolved on—Visit of Mohammed Bóro and Belraji — Fight in Dr. Barth's room — Dr. Barth takes leave of the Sultan, who gives him letters to other Chiefs — Account of the Expedition of the Sultan of A'gades.—Dr. Barth is visited by some ladies—Remarks on African morals — Conversation with Mohammed Omar on Religion—Hámma gets ready for a start—Prices of goods in A'gades.

Early in the morning, the whole body of the people from Tawát, who were residing in the place, 'Abd el Káder at their head, paid me a visit. The Tawátíye are still, at the present time (like their forefathers more than 300 years ago), the chief merchants in A'gades; and they are well adapted to the nature of this market, for, having but small means, and being more like peddlers or retail dealers, they sit quietly down with their little stock, and try to make the most of it by buying Negro millet when it is cheap, and retailing it when it becomes dear. Speculation in grain is now the principal business transacted in A'gades.

Several of these Tawátíye were about to return to their native country, and were anxiously seeking information as to the time when the caravan of the Sakomáren, which had come to Tintéllust, intended to start on their return-journey, as they

wished to go in their company. Among them was a man of the name of 'Abdallah, with whom I became afterward very intimate, and obtained from him a great deal of information. He was well acquainted with that quarter of the African continent which lies between Tawát, Timbúktu, and A'gades, having been six times to A'gades and five times to Timbúktu, and was less exacting than the mass of his countrymen. The most interesting circumstance which I learned from them to-day was the identity of the Emgédesi language with that of Timbúktu — a fact of which I had no previous idea, thinking that the Háusa language, as it was the vulgar tongue of the whole of A'sben, was the indigenous language of the natives of A'gades.

When the Tawátíye were about to go away, A'magay, or Mággi, as he is generally called, the chief eunuch of the sultan, came, and I was ordered by my Kél-owí companions, who had put on all their finery, to make myself ready to pay a visit to the sultan. Throwing, therefore, my white heláli bernús over my black tobe, and putting on my richly-ornamented Ghadámsi shoes, which formed my greatest finery, I took up the letters and the treaty, and solicited the aid of my servant Mohammed to assist me in getting it signed; but he refused to perform any such service, regarding it as a very gracious act on his part that he went with me at all.

The streets and the market-places were still empty when we went through them, which left upon me the impression of a deserted place of by-gone times; for even in the most important and central quarters of the town most of the dwelling-houses were in ruins. Some meat was lying ready for sale, and a bullock was tied to a stake, while numbers of large vultures, distinguished by their long naked neck of reddish color and their dirty-grayish plumage, were sitting on the pinnacles of the crumbling walls, ready to pounce upon any kind of offal. These natural scavengers I afterward found to be the constant inhabitants of all the market-places, not only in this town, but in all the places in the interior. Directing our steps by the high watch-tower, which, although built only of clay and wood,

yet, on account of its contrast to the low dwelling-houses around, forms a conspicuous object, we reached the gate which leads into the palace or fáda, a small separate quarter with a large, irregular court-yard, and from twenty to twenty-five larger and smaller dwellings. Even these were partly in ruins, and one or two wretched conical cottages, built of reeds and grass in the midst of them, showed anything but a regard to cleanliness. The house, however, in which the sultan himself dwelt, proved to have been recently repaired, and had a neat and orderly appearance; the wall was nicely polished, and the gate newly covered in with boards made of the stem of the dúm-tree, and furnished with a door of the same material.

We seated ourselves apart, on the right side of the vestibule, which, as is the case in all the houses of this place, is separated from the rest of the room by a low balustrade about ten inches high. Meanwhile Mággi had announced us to his majesty, and, coming back, conducted us into the adjoining room, where he had taken his seat. It was separated from the vestibule by a very heavy wooden door, and was far more decent than I had expected. It was about forty or fifty feet in every direction, the rather low roof being supported by two short and massive columns of clay, slightly decreasing in thickness toward the top, and furnished with a simple abacus, over which one layer of large boards was placed in the breadth and two in the depth of the room, sustaining the roof formed of lighter boards. These are covered in with branches, over which mats are spread, the whole being completed with a layer of clay. At the lower end of the room, between the two columns, was a heavy door giving access into the interior of the house, while a large opening on either side admitted the light.

Abd el Káderi, the son of the Sultan El Bákeri, was seated between the column to the right and the wall, and appeared to be a tolerably stout man, with large, benevolent features, as far as the white shawl wound around his face would allow us to perceive. The white color of the litham, and that of his shirt, which was of gray hue, together with his physiognomy, at once announced him as not belonging to the Tawárek race. Having

saluted him one after another, we took our seats at some distance opposite to him, when, after having asked Hámma some complimentary questions with regard to the old chief, he called me to come near to him, and in a very kind manner entered into conversation with me, asking me about the English nation, of which, notwithstanding all their power, he had, in his retired spot, never before heard, not suspecting that "English powder" was derived from them.

After explaining to him how the English, although placed at such an immense distance, wished to enter into friendly relations with all the chiefs and great men on the earth, in order to establish peaceable and legitimate intercourse with them, I delivered to him A'nnur's and Mr. Richardson's letters, and begged him to forward another letter to 'Alíyu, the Sultan of Sókoto, wherein we apologized for our incapability, after the heavy losses and the many extortions we had suffered, of paying him at present a visit in his capital, expressing to 'Abd el Káder, at the same time, how unjustly we had been treated by tribes subject to his dominion, who had deprived us of nearly all the presents we were bringing with us for himself and the other princes of Sudán. While expressing his indignation on this account, and regretting that I should not be able to go on directly to Sókoto, whither he would have sent me with the greatest safety in company with the salt-caravan of the Kél-gerés, and at the same time giving vent to his astonishment that, although young, I had already performed journeys so extensive, he dismissed us, after we had placed before him the parcel containing the presents destined for him. The whole conversation, not only with me, but also with my companions, was in the Háusa language. I should have liked to have broached to him the treaty at once, but the moment was not favorable.

On the whole, I look upon 'Abd el Káder as a man of great worth, though devoid of energy. All the people assured me that he was the best of the family to which the Sultan of A'gades belongs. He had been already sultan before, but a few years ago was deposed in order to make way for Hámed

e'Rufäy, whom he again succeeded; but in 1853, while I was in Sókoto, he was once more compelled to resign in favor of the former.

While returning with my companions to our lodging, we met six of Bóro's sons, among whom our travelling companion Háj 'Ali was distinguished for his elegance. They were going to the palace in order to perform their office as "fadáwa-n-serkí" (royal courtiers), and were very complaisant when they were informed that I had been graciously received by his majesty. Having heard from them that Bóro, since his return had been ill with fever, I took the opportunity to induce my followers to accompany me on a visit to him.

Mohammed Bóro has a nice little house for a town like A'gades, situated on the small area called "Erárar-n-sákan," or "the place of the young camels." The house itself consists of two stories, and furnishes a good specimen of the better houses of the town; its interior was nicely whitewashed. Bóro, who was greatly pleased with our visit, received us in a very friendly manner, and when we left accompanied us a long way down the street. Though he holds no office at present, he is nevertheless a very important personage, not only in A'gades, but even in Sókoto, where he is regarded as the wealthiest merchant. He has a little republic of his own (like the venerable patriarchs) of not less than about fifty sons with their families; but he still possesses such energy and enterprise, that in 1854 he was about to undertake another pilgrimage to Mekka.

When I had returned to my quarters, Mággi brought me, as an acknowledgment of my presents, a fat, large-sized ram from 'Abd el Káder, which was an excellent proof that good meat can be got here. There is a place called Aghíllad, three or four days' journey west from A'gades, which is said to be very rich in cattle. On this occasion I gave to the influential eunuch, for himself, a white shawl with a red border. In the afternoon I took another walk through the town, first to the market, which, though it had been quiet in the morning, exhibited now a busy scene, about fifty camels being offered for

sale, most of them very young, and the older ones rather indifferent. But, while the character of the article for sale could not be estimated very high, that of the men employed in the business of the market attracted my full attention.

They were tall men, with broad, coarse features, very different from any I had seen before, and with long hair hanging down upon their shoulders and over their face in a way which is an abomination to the Tawárek; but, upon inquiry, I learned that they belonged to the tribe of Ighdalén or E'ghedel, a very curious mixed tribe of Berber and Sónghay blood, and speaking the Sónghay language. The mode of buying and selling, also, was very peculiar; for the price was neither fixed in dollars nor in shells, but either in merchandise of various description, such as calico, shawls, tobes, or in Negro millet, which is the real standard of the market of A'gades at the present time, while during the period of its prime it was apparently the gold of Gágho. This way of buying or selling is called "kárba." There was a very animated scene between two persons; and to settle the dispute, it was necessary to apply to the "serki-n-káswa," who for every camel sold in the market receives three "réjel."

From this place we went to the vegetable-market, or "kás-wa-n-deléli," which was but poorly supplied, only cucumbers and molukhia (or *Corchorus olitorius*) being procurable in considerable plenty. Passing thence to the butchers' market, we found it very well supplied, and giving proof that the town was not yet quite deserted, although some strangers were just gathering for the installation of the sultan, as well as for the celebration of the great holiday, the 'Aid el kebír, or Salla-léja. We then went to the third market, called Katánga, where, in a sort of hall supported by the stems of the dúm-tree, about six or seven women were exhibiting on a sort of frame a variety of small things, such as beads and necklaces, sandals, small oblong tin boxes such as the Kél-owí wear for carrying charms, small leather boxes of all possible sizes, from the diameter of an inch to as much as six inches. They are

*Dr. Barth attacked by the Natives in A'gades.*

very neatly made in different colors, and are used for tobacco, perfumes, and other purposes, and are called "botta."

*October 13th.* Mohammed the Foolish succeeded in the evening in getting me into some trouble, which gave him great delight; for, seeing that I took more than common interest in a national dance, accompanied with a song, which was going on at some distance E.N.E. from our house, he assured me that Hámma was there, and had told him that I might go and join in their amusement. Unfortunately, I was too easily induced; and hanging only a cutlass over my shoulder, I went thither unaccompanied, sure of finding my protector in the merry crowd. It was about ten o'clock at night, the moon shining very brightly on the scene. Having first viewed it from some distance, I approached very near, in order to observe the motions of the dancers. Four young men, placed opposite to each other in pairs, were dancing with warlike motions, and, stamping the ground violently with the left foot, turned round in a circle, the motions being accompanied by the energetic clapping of hands of a numerous ring of spectators. It was a very interesting sight, and I should have liked to stay longer; but, finding that Hámma was not present, and that all the people were young, and many of them buzawe, I followed the advice of 'Abdu, one of A'nnur's slaves, who was among the crowd, to withdraw as soon as possible. I had, however, retraced my steps but a short way, when, with the war-cry of Islám, and drawing their swords, all the young men rushed after me. Being, however, a short distance in advance, and fortunately not meeting with any one in the narrow street, I reached our house without being obliged to make use of my weapon; but my friends the Kél-owí seeing me in trouble, had thrown the chain over the door of our house, and, with a malicious laugh, left me outside with my pursuers, so that I was obliged to draw my cutlass in order to keep them at bay, though, if they had made a serious attack, I should have fared ill enough with my short, blunt European weapon against their long, sharp swords.

I was rather angry with my barbarous companions, particu-

larly with Mohammed; and when, after a little delay, they opened the door, I loaded my pistol and threatened to shoot the first man that troubled me. However, I soon felt convinced that the chief fault was my own; and, in order to obliterate the bad impression which this little adventure was likely to make in the town, particularly as the great Mohammedan feast was at hand, which, of course, could not but strengthen greatly the prejudice against a Christian, I resolved to stay at home the next few days. This I could do the more easily, as the terrace of our house allowed me to observe all that was going on in the place.

*Wednesday, October 16th.* The 10th of Dhú el kadhi, 1266, was the first day of the great festival 'Aid el kebír, or Sallaléja (the feast of the sacrifice of the sheep), which, in these regions, is the greatest holiday of the Mohammedans, and was, in this instance, to have a peculiar importance and solemnity for A'gades, as the installation of 'Abd el Káder, who had not yet publicly assumed the government, was to take place the same day. Early in the morning, before daylight, Hámma and his companions left the house and mounted their camels, in order to pay their compliments to Astáfidet, and join him in his procession; and about sunrise the young chief entered and went directly to the "fáda," at the head of from two hundred to three hundred Mehára, having left the greater number of his troop, which was said to amount to about two thousand men, outside the town.

Then, without much ceremony or delay, the installation or "sarauta" of the new sultan took place. The ceremonial was gone through inside the fáda; but this was the procedure. First of all, 'Abd el Káder was conducted from his private apartments to the public hall. Then the chiefs of the Itísan and Kél-gerés, who went in front, begged him to sit down upon the "gadó," a sort of couch or divan made of the leaves of the palm-tree, or of the branches of other trees, similar to the angaríb used in Egypt and the lands of the Upper Nile, and covered with mats and a carpet. Upon this the new sultan sat down, resting his feet on the ground, not being allowed

to put them upon the gadó, and recline in the Oriental style, until the Kél-owí desired him to do so. Such is the ceremony, symbolical of the combined participation of these different tribes in the investiture of their sultan.

This ceremony being concluded, the whole holiday-procession left the palace on its way to a chapel of a merábet called Sídi Hammáda, in Tára-bére, outside the town, where, according to an old custom, the prince was to say his prayers. This is a rule prevailing over the whole of Mohammedan Africa, and one which I myself witnessed in some of the most important of its capitals—in A'gades, in Kúkawa, in Más-eña, in Sókoto, and in Timbúktu; everywhere the principle is the same.

Not deeming it prudent on such an occasion to mix with the people, I witnessed the whole procession from the terrace of our house, though I should have liked to have had a nearer view. The procession having taken its course through the most important quarter of the town, and through the market-places, turned round from the "káswa-n-delélti" to the oldest quarter of the town, and then returned westward, till at last it reached the above-mentioned chapel or tomb of Sídi Hammáda, where there is a small cemetery. The prayer being finished, the procession returned by the southern part of the town, and about ten o'clock the different parties which had composed the *cortége* separated.

Shortly after the procession was over, the friendly Haj 'Abdúwa, who, after he had parted from us in Eghellál, had attached himself to the troop of Astáfidet, came to pay me a visit. He was now tolerably free from fever, but begged for some Epsom salts, besides a little gunpowder. He informed me that there was much sickness in town, that from two to three people died daily, and that even Astáfidet was suffering from the prevalent disease. This was the small-pox, a very fatal disease in Central Africa, against which, however, several of the native pagan tribes secure themselves by inoculation, a precaution from which Mohammedans are withheld by religious prejudice. I then received a visit from the sons of Bóro in their official character as "fádawa-n-serki." They wished to

inform themselves, apparently, with reference to my adventure the other night, whether the townspeople behaved well toward me; and I was prudent enough to tell them that I had nothing to complain of, my alarm having been the consequence of my own imprudence. In fact, the people behaved remarkably well, considering that I was the first Christian that ever visited the town; and the little explosions of fanaticism into which the women and children sometimes broke out, when they saw me on our terrace, rather amused me. During the first days of my residence in A'gades, they most probably took me for a pagan or a polytheist, and cried after me the confessional words of Islám, laying all the stress upon the word Allah, "the One God;" but, after a few days, when they had learned that I likewise worshipped the Deity, they began to emphasize the name of their Prophet.

There was held about sunset a grave and well-attended divan of all the chiefs, to consult with respect to a "yáki" or "égehen," a ghazzia to be undertaken against the Meháreb'n or freebooters of the Awelímmiden. While we were still in Tintéllust, the rumor had spread of an expedition undertaken by the latter tribe against Aïr, and the people were all greatly excited.

*Thursday, October 17th.* A'nnur karamí, our amiable and indolent attendant, left this place for Tintéllust with a note which I wrote to my colleagues, informing them of my safe arrival, my gracious reception, and the general character of the place. To-day the whole town was in agitation in consequence of one of those characteristic events which, in a place like A'gades, serve to mark the different periods of the year; for here a man can do nothing singly, but all must act together. The salt-caravan of the Itísan and Kél-gerés had collected, mustering, I was told, not less than ten thousand camels, and had encamped in Mérmeru and Tesak-n-tállem, ready to start for the salt-mines of Bilma, along a road which will be indicated further on. However exaggerated the number of the camels might be, it was certainly a very large caravan;

and a great many of the inhabitants went out to settle their little business with the men and take leave of their friends.

*Saturday, October 19th.* Hámma and his companions were summoned to a council which was to decide definitely in what quarter the arm of justice, now raised in wrath, was to strike the first blow, and it was resolved that the expedition should first punish the Imghád, the Ikázkezan, and Fáde-angh. The officer who made the proclamation through the town was provided with a very rude sort of drum, which was, in fact, nothing but an old barrel covered with a skin.

*Sunday, October 20th.* The most important event in the course of the day was a visit which I received from Mohammed Bóro, our travelling companion from Múrzuk, with his sons. It was the best proof of his noble character that, before we separated, perhaps never to meet again, he came to speak with me, and to explain our mutual relations fairly. He certainly could not deny that he had been extremely angry with us, and I could not condemn him on this account, for he had been treated ignominiously. While Mr. Gagliuffi told him that we were persuaded that the whole success of our proceedings lay in his hands, he had been plainly given to understand that we set very little value on his services. Besides, he had sustained some heavy losses on the journey, and, by waiting for us, had consumed the provisions which he had got ready for the march.

Although an old man, he was first going with the expedition, after which he intended accompanying the caravan of the Kélgerés to Sókoto with his whole family, for Sókoto is his real home. The salt-caravan and the company of this man offered a splendid opportunity for reaching that place in safety and by the most direct road, but our means did not allow of such a journey, and, after all, it was better, at least for myself, that it was not undertaken, since, as matters went, it was reserved for me, before I traced my steps toward the western regions, to discover the upper navigable course of the eastern branch of the so-called Niger, and make sundry other important discoveries. Nevertheless, Bóro expressed his hope of seeing me again in Sókoto, and his wish might easily have been accom-

plished. He certainly must have been, when in the vigor of life, a man, in the full sense of the word, and well deserved the praise of the Emgedesíye, who have a popular song beginning with the words "A'gades has no men but Bóro and Dahámmi." I now also became aware why he had many enemies in Múrzuk, who unfortunately succeeded in making Gagliuffi believe that he had no authority whatever in his own country; for as serki-n-turáwa he had to levy the tax of ten mithkáls on every camel-load of merchandise, and this he is said to have done with some degree of severity. After a long conversation on the steps of the terrace, we parted the best possible friends.

Not so pleasant to me, though not without interest, was the visit of another great man — Belróji, the tamberi or war-chieftain of the Ighólar Im-eséghlar. He was still in his prime, but my Kél-owí (who were always wrangling like children) got up a desperate fight with him in my very room, which was soon filled with clouds of dust; and the young Slimán entering during the row, and joining in it, it became really frightful. The Kél-owí were just like children: when they went out they never failed to put on all their finery, which they threw off as soon as they came within doors, resuming their old dirty clothes.

*Monday, October* 21*st.* Early in the morning I went with Hámma to take leave of the sultan, who had been too busy for some days to favor me with an audience; and I urged my friend to speak of the treaty, though I was myself fully aware of the great difficulty which so complicated a paper, written in a form entirely unknown to the natives, and which must naturally be expected to awaken their suspicion, would create, and of the great improbability of its being signed while the sultan was pressed with a variety of business.

We went to the fáda. The sultan seemed quite ready for starting. He was sitting in the court-yard of his palace, surrounded by a multitude of people and camels, while the loud murmuring noise of a number of schoolboys who were learning the Kurán proceeded from the opposite corner, and prevented my hearing the conversation of the people. The crowd and the open locality were, of course, not very favorable to my last

audience, and it was necessarily a cold one. Supported by Hámma, I informed the sultan that I expected still to receive a letter from him to the government under whose auspices I was travelling, expressive of the pleasure and satisfaction he had felt in being honored with a visit from one of the mission, and that he would gladly grant protection to any future traveller who should happen to visit his country. The sultan promised that such a letter should be written; however, the result proved that either he had not quite understood what I meant, or, what is more probable, that in his precarious situation he felt himself not justified in writing to a Christian government, especially as he had received no letter from it.

When I had returned to my quarters, Hámma brought me three letters, in which 'Abd el Káder recommended my person and my luggage to the care of the governors of Kanó, Kátsena, and Dáura, and which were written in rather incorrect Arabic, and in nearly the same terms. They were as follows:

"In the name of God, &c.

"From the Emír of Ahír, 'Abd el Káder, son of the Sultan Mohammed el Bákeri, to the Emír of Dáura, son of the late Emír of Dáura, Is-hhák. The mercy of God upon the eldest companions of the Prophet, and his blessing upon the Khalifa; 'Amín.' The most lasting blessing and the highest well-being to you without end. I send this message to you with regard to a stranger, my guest, of the name of 'Abd el Kérim, who came to me, and is going to the Emír el Mumenín [the Sultan of Sókoto], in order that, when he proceeds to you, you may protect him and treat him well, so that none of the freebooters and evildoers may hurt him or his property, but that he may reach the Emír el Mumenín. Indeed, we wrote this on account of the freebooters, in order that you may protect him against them in the most efficacious manner. Farewell."

These letters were all sealed with the seal of the sultan.

The whole population was in alarm, and everybody who was able to bear arms prepared for the expedition. About sunset the "égehen" left the town, numbering about four hundred men, partly on camels, partly on horseback, besides the people on foot. Bóro as well as A'shu accompanied the sultan, who this time was himself mounted on a camel. They went to take

their encampment near that of Astáfidet, in Tagúrast, 'Abd el Káder pitching a tent of a gray color, and in size like that of a Turkish aghá, in the midst of the Kél-gerés, the Kél-ferwán, and the Emgedesíye, while Astáfidet, who had no tent, was surrounded by the Kél-owí. The sultan was kind and attentive enough not to forget me even now; and, having heard that I had not yet departed, Hámma not having finished his business in the town, he sent me some wheat, a large botta with butter and vegetables (chiefly melons and cucumbers), and the promise of another sheep.

In the evening the drummer again went his rounds through the town, proclaiming the strict order of the sultan that every body should lay in a large supply of provisions. Although the town in general had become very silent when deserted by so many people, our house was kept in constant bustle; and in the course of the night three mehára came from the camp, with people who could get no supper there and sought it with us. Bóro sent a messenger to me early the next morning, urgently begging for a little powder, as the "Mehárebín" of the Imghád had sent off their camels and other property, and were determined to resist the army of the sultan. However, I could send him but very little. My amusing friend Mohammed spent the whole day with us, when he went to join the ghazzia. I afterward learned that he obtained four head of cattle as his share. There must be considerable herds of cattle in the more favored valleys of Asben; for the expedition had nothing else to live upon, as Mohammed afterward informed me, and slaughtered an immense quantity of them. Altogether the expedition was successful, and the Fáde-angh and many tribes of Imghád lost almost all their property. Even the influential Háj Beshír was punished, on account of his son having taken part in the expedition against us. I received also the satisfactory information that 'Abd el Káder had taken nine camels from the man who retained my méheri; but I gained nothing thereby, neither my own camel being returned nor another given me in its stead. The case was the same with all our things; but nevertheless the proceeding had a good effect,

seeing that people were punished expressly for having robbed Christians, and thus the principle was established that it was not less illegal to rob Christians than it was to rob Mohammedans, both creeds being placed, as far as regards the obligations of peace and honesty, on equally favorable terms.

*October 24th.* I had a fair sample of the state of morals in A'gades. Five or six girls and women came to pay me a visit in our house, and with much simplicity invited me to make merry with them, there being now, as they said, no longer reason for reserve, "as the sultan was gone." Two of them were tolerably pretty and well formed, with fine black hair hanging down in plaits or tresses, lively eyes, and very fair complexions. Their dress was decent, and that of one of them even elegant, consisting of an under gown reaching from the neck to the ankles, and an upper one drawn over the head, both of white color; but their demeanor was very free, and I too clearly understood the caution requisite in a European who would pass through these countries unharmed and respected by the natives, to allow myself to be tempted by these wantons. It would be better for a traveller in these regions, both for his own comfort and for the respect felt for him by the natives, if he could take his wife with him; for these simple people do not understand how a man can live without a partner. The Western Tawárek, who in general are very rigorous in their manners, and quite unlike the Kél-owí, had nothing to object against me except my being a bachelor. But as it is difficult to find a female companion for such journeys, and as by marrying a native he would expose himself to much trouble and inconvenience on the score of religion, he will do best to maintain the greatest austerity of manners with regard to the other sex, though he may thereby expose himself to a good deal of derision from some of the lighter-hearted natives. The ladies, however, became so troublesome that I thought it best to remain at home for a few days, and was thus enabled at the same time to note down the information which I had been able to pick up.

*Monday, October 28th.* During all this time I prosecuted

inquiries with regard to several subjects connected with the geography and ethnography of this quarter of the world. I received several visits from Emgédesi tradesmen, many of whom are established in the northern provinces of Háusa, chiefly in Kátsena and Tasáwa, where living is infinitely cheaper than in A'gades. All these I found to be intelligent men, having been brought up in the centre of intercourse between a variety of tribes and nations of the most different organization, and, through the web of routes which join here, receiving information of distant regions. Several of them had even made the Pilgrimage, and thus come in contact with the relatively high state of civilization in Egypt and near the coast; and I shall not easily forget the enlightened view which the m'allem Háj Mohammed 'Omár, who visited me several times, took of Islámism and Christianity. The last day of my stay in A'gades, he reverted to the subject of religion, and asked me, in a manner fully expressive of his astonishment, how it came to pass that the Christians and Moslemín were so fiercely opposed to one another, although their creeds, in essential principles, approximated so closely. To this I replied by saying that I thought the reason was that the great majority both of Christians and Moslemín paid less regard to the dogmas of their creeds than to external matters, which have very little or no reference to religion itself. I also tried to explain to him that, in the time of Mohammed, Christianity had entirely lost that purity which was its original character, and that it had been mixed up with many idolatrous elements, from which it was not entirely disengaged till a few centuries ago, while the Mohammedans had scarcely any acquaintance with Christians except those of the old sects of the Jacobites and Nestorians. Mutually pleased with our conversation, we parted from each other with regret.

In the afternoon I was agreeably surprised by the arrival of the Tiny'lkum Ibrahim, for the purpose of supplying his brother's house with what was wanted; and being determined to make only one day's stay in the town, he had learned with pleasure that we were about to return by way of A'fasás, the

village whither he himself was going. I myself had cherished this hope, as all the people had represented that place as one of the largest in the country, and as pleasantly situated. Hámma had promised to take me this way on our return to Tintéllust; but having staid so much longer in the town than he had intended, and being afraid of arriving too late for the salt-caravan of the Kél-owí on their way to Bilma, which he was to supply with provisions, he changed his plan, and determined to return by the shortest road. Meanwhile, he informed me that the old chief would certainly not go with us to Zinder till the salt-caravan had returned from Bilma.

Fortunately, in the course of the 29th, a small caravan with corn arrived from Damerghú, and Hámma completed his purchases. He had, however, first to settle a disagreeable affair; for our friend Zúmmuzuk had bought in Hámma's name several things, for which payment was now demanded. Hámma flew into a terrible rage, and nearly finished the rogue. My Arab and Tawáti friends, who heard that we were to start the following day, though they were rather busy buying corn, came to take leave of me; and I was glad to part from all of them in friendship.

A'gades is in no respect a place of resort for wealthy merchants, not even Arabs; while with regard to Europe its importance at present consists in its lying on the most direct road to Sókoto and that part of Sudán. In my opinion it would form for a European agent a very good and comparatively healthy place from which to open relations with Central Africa. The native merchants seem only to visit the markets of Kátsena, Tasáwa, Marádi, Kanó, and Sókoto, and, as far as I was able to learn, never go to the northern markets of Ghát or Múrzuk unless on a journey to Mekka, which several of them have made. Neither does there seem to exist any intercourse at present with Gágho or Gógo, or with Timbúktu; but the Arabs of Azawád and those parts, when undertaking a pilgrimage, generally go by way of A'gades.

I here add the prices of different articles, as they were sold in the market during my residence in the place:

| | Mithkal.* | Rejel. |
|---|---|---|
| Dukhn "géro" (*Pennisetum*), or durra "dawa" (*sorghum*), twenty zekka, being equal to forty of the measure used in Tintéllust | 1 | 0 |
| Rice, ten zekka | 1 | 0 |
| Camel, a young one, two years old, not yet fit for carrying loads | 18 | 0 |
| Ditto, full grown | 25 | 0 |
| Horse, a good strong one | 100 | 0 |
| Ditto, a fine one, of Tawát breed | 1000 | 0 |
| Ass | 6 to 8 | 0 |
| Ox | 8 | 0 |
| Calf | 4 | 0 |
| Ram | 1 | 5 |
| Sandals, a pair of common ones | 0 | 1 |
| Ditto, a pair of fine ones | 0 | 5 |
| Camel-saddle (or "rákhla" in Arabic, "kígi" in Temáshight) | 10 | 0 |
| Ditto, a common one | 5 | 0 |
| Leather bag, of colored leather, for containing clothes | 1 | 0 |
| Mat, a fine colored one | 0 | 6 |
| English calico, ten dr'a or cubits | 1 | 0 |
| Subéta, or white Egyptian shawl with red border | 1 | 0 |
| Kórnu, or the fine Egyptian colored sheep-leather, a piece | 1 | 0 |
| Túrkedi, or the dark-colored cotton cloth for female dress, of Kanó manufacture, common | 2 | 0 |
| Ditto, of finer texture | 3 to 5 | 3 |

My stay in A'gades was too short to justify my entering into detail about the private life of the people, but all that I saw convinced me that, although open to most serious censure on the part of the moralist, it presented many striking features of cheerfulness and happiness, and nothing like the misery which is often met with in towns which have declined from their former glory. It still contains many active germs of national life, which are most gratifying to the philosophic traveller. The situation, on an elevated plateau, cannot but be healthy, as the few waterpools, of small dimensions, are incapable of infecting the air.

* The mithkál of A'gades is equal to 1000 kurdí, 2500 of which make a Spanish or Austrian dollar.

## CHAPTER VIII.

Dr. Barth's departure from A'gades — Stay in Tin-téggana — Departure for Sudán — The Salt Caravan — A'nnur's present to Dr. Barth — The Tagama—Visit of a Queen of the Desert—Arrival at Tágelel.

*Wednesday, October 30th.* We at length left A'gades. I felt as if I had enjoyed a glimpse of a totally different world, a new region of life, many relations of which were as yet obscure to me. Timbúktu, which was in the background of this novel and living picture, seemed almost an unattainable object. An acquaintance with it would not fail to throw light upon this advanced post of Sónghay nationality and its state of civilization; but at that time I little expected that it would be my destiny to dwell a year in that mysterious place, and I had even reason to doubt the possibility of reaching it from this quarter. All my thoughts were bent on the south; and although at present retracing my steps toward the north, yet, as it carried me back to our head-quarters, whence I might soon expect to start for the southern regions, I regarded it as a step in advance.

But the commencement of the journey was most abortive, and made me rather regret that I had not spent the day in the town. Hámma was unable to find some of the asses belonging to the caravan, for the simple reason that our friend Zúmmuzuk had sold them; and the whole day was lost, so that we encamped after a march of scarcely two miles and a half. Here we were joined by Ibrahím and by a very amiable, intelligent Kél-owí of the name of Rábbot.

When at length, on Thursday morning, we fairly began our journey, we followed entirely our old road, Hámma being anxious to get home; but nevertheless, as the mountains and ridges which characterize this region now met the eyes from

the other side, the scenery was a good deal varied, and I had frequent opportunities of completing my map of this part of the country. Besides, we chose our encampments in new localities; and many little incidents varied our journey, the most interesting of which was the approach of a party of five lions in the valley Búdde, when Hámma called us to arms. He, Rábbot, Mohammed, and I advanced to meet them, but they soon turned their backs, leaping over the rocky ground toward their mountain retreat. The lion of Aïr does not seem to be a very ferocious animal, and, like those of all this border-region of the desert, has no mane — that is to say, as compared with other lions. The maneless lion of Guzerat is well known, but a similar species seems also to occur in Sind and Persia. The lion of Central Africa, at least of Bórnu and Logón, has a beautiful mane; and the skin of a lion of that region, which I took with me on my journey to Western Sudán, excited the admiration of all who saw it.

On the morning of the 5th of November, which was to be the day of our arrival in Tintéllust, it was so cold that we started rather late, Hámma simply declaring that the cold did not allow him to go on. Having started at length, we made a long day's march, and after eleven hours and a half travelling reached the well-known sand-hill opposite Tintéllust, where our encampment had staid so long.

But the residence of the great chief A'nnur was buried in the deepest silence; the couriers, the blacksmiths, all the great men and ladies had gone away. Hámma went to see if any body remained behind, while we cooked our rice, and prepared to make ourselves comfortable for the night. That, however, was out of the question; for, when he returned, he ordered us to decamp at once; and though nothing is more dreadful than a night's march, particularly when it succeeds to a long day's journey, yet in the enthusiasm awakened by the thought of going southward, I, with all my heart, joined in the exclamation, "Sé fataúchi sé Kanó!" ("no rest before Kanó"—properly, "nothing but travelling, nothing but Kanó!")

It was ten o'clock in the evening when we started again

along the broad valley, taking leave forever of "the English Hill;" but I soon began to suffer from the consequences of fatigue. In order to avoid falling from my camel in my drowsy state, I was obliged to drag myself along a great part of the night on foot, which was not at all agreeable, as the ground was at times very rugged, and covered with long grass. Having crossed a rocky flat, we entered, about four o'clock in the morning, the wide plain of Tin-téggana, stumbling along through the thick cover of bú-rékkeba and other sorts of herbage, till dawn, coming on with rather chilly air, revealed to our benumbed senses the encampment of the caravan. Having therefore made repeated halts, to give the people time to recognise us, in order not to occasion any alarm, as our leader Hámma was not with us, but had lain down at the road side to get a few hours' rest, we made straight for the two European tents, which showed us precisely the residence of my fellow-travellers. The old chief A'nnur was up, and received me with great kindness — more kindly, I must say, than my colleagues, who apparently felt some jealousy on account of the success which had attended my proceedings.

Having once more taken possession of the well known home of our little tent, I preferred looking about the encampment to lying down, for sleeping after sunrise is not agreeable to me.

[The travellers remained encamped in the valley of Tintéggana more than a month, waiting for the opportunity to accompany the chief A'nnur, with his salt caravan, to Kanó. During this time no incident of importance took place.]

*Thursday, December* 12*th*, 1850.—At length the day broke when we were to move on and get nearer the longed-for object of our journey, though we were aware that our first progress would be slow.

Late in the morning we began to move, but very slowly, halting every now and then. At length the old chief himself came up, walking like a young man before his méheri, which he led by the nose-cord, and the varied groups composing the caravan began to march more steadily. It was a whole nation in motion, the men on camels or on foot, the women on bul-

locks or on asses, with all the necessaries of the little household, as well as the houses themselves — a herd of cattle, another of milk-goats, and numbers of young camels running playfully alongside, and sometimes getting between the regular lines of the laden camels. The ground was very rocky and rugged, and looked bare and desolate in the extreme, the plain being strewn for a while with loose basaltic stones, like the plain of Tághist.

*Friday, December* 13*th.* Starting rather late, we continued through the mountainous region, generally ascending, while a cold wind made our old friend the chief shiver and regard with feelings of envy my thick black bernús, although he had got bernúses enough from us not only to protect him against cold, but us too against any envious feeling for the little which was left us. Keeping now over rocky ground, then along the bottom of a valley called Tánegat, about half a mile broad, where we passed a well on our right, we at length reached a mountain spur starting off from the ridge on our right, and entered a beautiful broad plain stretching out to the foot of a considerable mountain group, which was capped by a remarkable picturesquely-indented cone called Mári. Here we saw the numerous camels of the salt-caravan grazing in the distance to our left; and after having crossed a small rocky flat, we encamped in the very channel of the torrent, being certain that at this season no such danger as overwhelmed us in the valley E'ghazar was to be feared.

*Saturday, December* 14*th.* We started early, but encamped, after a short march of about six miles, on uneven ground intersected by numbers of small ridges. The reason of the halt was, that the whole of the caravan was to come up and to join together; and our old chief here put on his official dress (a yellow bernús of good quality), to show his dignity as leader of such a host of people.

Salt forms the only article conveyed by this caravan. The form of the largest cake is very remarkable; but it must be borne in mind that the salt in Bílma is in a fluid state, and is formed into this shape by pouring it into a wooden mould.

This pedestal or loaf of salt (kántu) is equal to five of the smaller cakes, which are called áserím, and each áserím equals four of the smallest cakes, which are called "fótu." The bags, made of the leaves of the dúm-palm (or the "kabba"), in which these loaves are packed up, are called "tákrufa." But the finest salt is generally in loose grains; and this is the only palatable salt, while the ordinary salt of Bílma is very bitter to the European palate, and spoils everything; but the former is more than three times the value of the latter. The price paid in Bílma is but two zékkas for three kántus.

*Sunday, December 15th.* The general start of the united "aïri," or caravan, took place with great spirit; and a wild, enthusiastic cry, raised over the whole extent of the encampment, answered to the beating of the drums; for, though the Kél-owí are greatly civilized by the influence of the black population, nevertheless they are still "half demons," while the thoroughbred and freeborn Amóshagh (whatever name he may bear, whether Tárki, ba-A'sbenchi, Kindín, or Chapáto) is regarded by all the neighboring tribes, Arabs as well as Africans, as a real demon ("jin"). Notwithstanding all this uproar, we were rather astonished at the small number of camels laden with salt which formed A'nnur's caravan; for they did not exceed two hundred, and their loads in the aggregate would realize in Kanó, at the very utmost, three thousand dollars, which, if taken as the principal revenue of the chief, seems very little. The whole number of the caravan did not exceed two thousand camels.

[No incident of importance occurred during the next fifteen days of the march towards Kanó.]

*December 31st.* Last day of 1850. A cold day and a mountainous country. After we had crossed the sand-hills, there was nothing before us but one flat expanse of sand, mostly bare, and clothed with trees only in favored spots. The most remarkable phenomenon was the appearance of the feathery bristle, the *Pennisetum distichum*, which on the road to A'gades begins much farther northward. Indeed, when we encamped, we had some difficulty in finding a spot free from

this nuisance, though of course the strong wind carried the seeds to a great distance. All our enjoyment of the last evening of the old year centered in an extra dish of two ostrich eggs.

*January* 1*st*, 1851. This morning the condition in which the people composing the caravan crawled out of their berths was most miserable and piteous; and, moreover, nobody thought of starting early, as several camels had been lost. At length, when the intense cold began to abate, and when the animals had been found, every body endeavored to free himself and his clothing from the bristles, which joined each part of his dress to the others like so many needles; but what one succeeded in getting rid of was immediately carried by the strong wind to another, so that all were in every respect peevish when they set out at half past nine o'clock. Nevertheless, the day was to be a very important one to me, and one on which princely favor was to be shown to me in a most marked manner.

I have remarked above that on the day I started for A'gades the old chief made a present of a bullock to the other members of the mission; but in this present I myself did not participate, and I had not yet received anything from him. Perhaps he was sensible of this, and wanted to give me likewise a proof of his royal generosity, but I am afraid he was at the same time actuated by feelings of a very different nature. He had several times praised my Turkish jacket, and I had consoled him with a razor or some other trifle; he had avowedly coveted my warm black bernús, and had effected by his frank intimations nothing more than to make me draw my warm clothing closer round my body. In order to bear the fatigue of the journey more easily, he had long ago exchanged the little narrow kígi or méheri-saddle for the broad pack-saddle, with a load of salt, as a secure seat.

He was one of the foremost in his string, while I, mounted upon my Bu-Séfi (who, since the loss of my méheri, had once more become my favorite saddle-horse), was riding outside the caravan, separated from him by several strings of camels. He called me by name; and, on my answering his call, he invited

me to come to him. To do this, I had to ride round all the strings. At length I reached him. He began to complain of the intense cold, from which he was suffering so acutely, while I seemed to be so comfortable in my warm clothes; then he asked if the ostrich eggs of yesterday evening had pleased us, whereupon I told him that his people had cheered us greatly by contributing, with their gift, to enable us to celebrate our chief festival. He then put his hand into his knapsack, and drawing forth a little cheese, and lifting it high up, so that all his people might see it, he presented the princely gift to me, with a gracious and condescending air, as a "mágani-n-dári" (a remedy against the cold), words which I, indeed, was not sure whether they were not meant ironically, as an intimation that I had withheld from him the real mágani-n-dári, my black bernús.

*Thursday, January* 3*d.* Soon after setting out on our march we met a caravan consisting of twenty oxen laden with corn, and farther on we passed a herd of cattle belonging to the Tagáma—a most cheerful sight to us. We then encamped before ten o'clock a little beyond a village of the same tribe, which, from a neighboring well, bears the name In-asámet. The village consisted of huts exactly of the kind described by Leo; for they were built of mats (*stuore*) erected upon stalks (*frasche*), and covered with hides over a layer of branches, and were very low. Numbers of children and cattle gave to the encampment a lively aspect. The well is rather deep—not less than seventeen fathoms.

We had scarcely encamped when we were visited by the male inhabitants of the village, mounted upon a small, ill-looking breed of horses. They proved to be somewhat troublesome, instigated as they were by curiosity, as well as by their begging propensities; but, in order to learn as much as possible, I thought it better to sacrifice the comfort of my tent, and converse with them. They were generally tall men, and much fairer than the Kél-owí; but in their customs they showed that they had fallen off much from ancient usages, through intercourse with strangers. The women not only made

the first advances, but, what is worse, they were offered even by the men — their brethren or husbands. Even those among the men whose behavior was least vile and revolting did not cease urging us to engage with the women, who failed not to present themselves soon afterward. It could scarcely be taken as a joke. Some of the women were immensely fat, particularly in the hinder regions, for which the Tawárek have a peculiar and expressive name—tebúllodén. Their features were very regular and their skin fair. The two most distinguished among them gave their names as Shabó and Támatu; which latter word, though signifying "woman" in general, may nevertheless be also used as a proper name. The wealthier among them were dressed in black túrkedí and the zénne; the poorer in white cotton. The dress of most of the men was also white; but the chief peculiarity of the latter was, that several of them wore their hair hanging down in long tresses. This is a token of their being Aníslimen or Merábetín (holy men), which character they assume, notwithstanding their dissolute manners. They have no school, but pride themselves on having a m'allem appointed at their mesállaje, which must be miserable enough. Having once allowed the people to come into my tent, I could not clear it again the whole day. The names of the more respectable among the men were Kílle, El Khassén, Efárret, Cháy, Rissa, Khándel, and Amaghár (properly "the Elder"). All these people, men and women, brought with them a variety of objects for sale; and I bought from them some dried meat of the welwaiji (*Antilope leucoryx*), which proved to be very fine, as good as beef; others, however, asserted that it was the flesh of the "rákomi-n-dáwa" or giraffe.

Hunting, together with cattle-breeding, is the chief occupation of the Tagáma; and they are expert enough with their little swift horses to catch the large antelope as well as the giraffe. Others engage in the salt-trade, and accompany the Kél-gerés on their way to Bílma, without, however, following them to Sókoto, where they are not allowed to enter; but they bring their salt to Kanó. In this respect the Tagáma acknow-

ledge, also, in a certain degree, the supremacy of the Sultan of A'gades.

Their slaves were busy in collecting and pounding the seeds of the karéngia, or úzak (*Pennisetum distichum*), which constitutes a great part of their food. Whatever may be got here is procurable only with money; even the water is sold: the water-skin for a sekka of millet; but, of course, grain is here very much cheaper than in Aïr, and even than in A'gades. Altogether, the Tagáma form at present a very small tribe, able to muster, at the utmost, three hundred spears, but most of them are mounted on horseback. Formerly, however, they were far more numerous, till I'bram, the father of the present chief, undertook, with the assistance of the Kél-gerés, the unfortunate expedition against Sókoto (then governed by Bello), of which Clapperton has given a somewhat exaggerated account. The country around is said to be greatly infested by lions, which often carry off camels.

*Friday, January 4th.* Our setting out this morning, after the camels were all laden and the men mounted, was retarded by the arrival of a queen of the desert, a beauty of the first rank, at least as regarded her dimensions. The lady, with really handsome features, was mounted upon a white bullock, which snorted violently under his immense burden. Nevertheless, this luxurious specimen of womankind was sickly, and required the assistance of the tabíb, or "ne-meglán," a title which Overweg had earned for himself by his doctoring, though his practice was rather of a remarkable kind; for he used generally to treat his patients, not according to the character of their sickness, but according to the days of the week on which they came. Thus he had one day of calomel, another of Dover's powder, one of Epsom salts, one of magnesia, one of tartar emetic, the two remaining days being devoted to some other medicines; and it of course sometimes happened that the man who suffered from diarrhœa got Epsom salts, and he who required opening medicine was blessed with a dose of Dover's powder. Of course my friend made numerous exceptions to this calendary method of treating disease

whenever time and circumstances allowed him to study more fully the state of a patient. However, in the hurry in which we just then were, he could scarcely make out what the imaginary or real infirmity of this lady was, and I cannot say what she got. She was certainly a woman of great authority, as the old chief himself was full of kind regards and deference to her. We were rather astonished that he exchanged here his brown mare for a lean white horse, the owners of which seemed, with good reason, excessively delighted with the bargain.

[On the 9th of January the caravan had reached Tágelel, one of the residences of the chief A'nnur, under whose protection the party were now travelling.]

*Thursday, January 9th.* This was the great market-day in Tágelel, on which account our departure was put off till the following day; but the market did not become thronged until a late hour. I went there in the afternoon. The market-place, which was about 800 yards distant from our encampment, toward the west, upon a small hilly eminence, was provided with several sheds or rúnfas. The articles laid out for sale consisted of cotton (which was imported), tobacco, ostrich eggs, cheese, mats, ropes, nets, earthenware pots, gúras (or drinking-vessels made of the *Cucurbita ovifera* and *C. lagenaria*) and kórios (or vessels made of a fine sort of reed, for containing fluids, especially milk); besides these there were a tolerable supply of vegetables, and two oxen, for sale. The buyers numbered about a hundred.

In the afternoon two magozáwa, or pagans, in a wild and fanciful attire (the dry leaves of Indian corn or sorghum hanging down from their barbarous head-dress and from the leather apron, which was girt round their loins and richly ornamented with shells and bits of colored cloth), danced in front of our tents the "devil's dance"—a performance of great interest in regard to the ancient pagan customs of these countries.

Tágelel was a very important point for the proceedings of the mission on several accounts. For here we had reached the lands where travellers are able to proceed singly on their way;

and here Overweg and I were to part from Mr. Richardson, on account of the low state of our finances, in order to try what each of us might be able to accomplish single-handed and without ostentation till new supplies should arrive from home.

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## CHAPTER IX.

Separation of the Travellers — Dr. Overweg goes to Tasáwa — Alarming Letter—Dr. Barth rejoins Dr. Overweg at Tasáwa—Dr. Barth answers the Letter — Arrives at Kátsena — Visits the Governor — Journey from Kátsena to Kanó.

*Friday, January 10th*, 1851. The important day had arrived when we were to separate not only from each other, but also from the old chief A'nnur, upon whom our fortunes had been dependent for so long a period. Having concealed his real intentions till the very last moment, he at length, with seeming reluctance, pretended that he was going first to Zínder. He confided me, therefore, to the care of his brother Elaiji, a most amiable old man, only a year younger than himself, but of a very different character, who was to take the lead of the salt-caravan to Kanó; and he promised me that I should arrive there in safety.

I had been so fortunate as to secure for myself, as far as that place, the services of Gajére, who was settled in Tágelel, where he was regarded as A'nnur's chief slave or overseer ("babán-báwa"). This man I hired, together with a mare of his, for myself, and a very fine pack-ox for that part of my luggage which my faithful camel, the Bu-Séfi, was unable to carry. A'nnur, I must say, behaved excellently toward me in this matter; for, having called me and Gajére into his presence, he presented his trusty servant, before all the people, with a red bernús, on my account, enjoining him in the strictest terms to see me safe to Kanó.

And so I separated from our worthy old friend with deep and sincere regret.

But to return to Tágelel. When I shook hands with the "sófo" he was sitting, like a patriarch of old, in the midst of his slaves and free men, male and female, and was dividing among them presents, such as shawls and turkedies, but principally painted arm-rings of clay, imported from Egypt, and of which the women of these districts are passionately fond. Mr. Richardson being ready to start, I took a hearty farewell of him, fixing our next place of meeting in Kúkawa, about the first of April. He was tolerably well at the time, although he had shown evident symptoms of being greatly affected by the change from the fine fresh air of the mountainous district of Aïr to the sultry climate of the fertile lands of Negroland; and he was quite incapable of bearing the heat of the sun, for which reason he always carried an umbrella, instead of accustoming himself to it by degrees. Overweg and I remained together for two or three days longer.

I felt happy in the extreme when I found myself once more on horseback, however deficient in beauty my little mare might be; for few energetic Europeans, I think, will relish travelling for any length of time on camel's back, as they are far too dependent on the caprice of the animal. We set out at half past seven o'clock, and soon passed on our right a village, and then a second one, which I think was Dákari, where a noble lady of handsome figure, and well mounted upon a bullock, joined the caravan. She was seated in a most comfortable large chair, which was fastened on the bullock's back. We afterward passed on our right the town of Olalówa, situated on a low range of hills. In the lower plain into which we next descended I observed the first regular ant-hill. Small groups of corn-stacks, or rumbús, farther on, dotted a depression or hollow, which was encompassed on both sides with gently sloping hills. Here I had to leave the path of the caravan with my new companion Gajére, who was riding the bullock, in order to water our two beasts, a duty which now demanded our chief attention every day.

[No incident of importance occurred till the 14th of January, when Dr. Barth parted with his friend and companion, Dr. Overweg.]

It was near Chirák that Overweg, who had determined to go directly to Tasáwa, in order to commence his intended excursion to Góber and Marádi, separated from me. This was, indeed, quite a gallant commencement of his undertaking, as he had none of A'nnur's people with him, and, besides Ibrahím and the useful, snake-like Amánkay (who had recovered from his Guinea-worm), his only companion was a Tébu who had long been settled in A'sben, and whom he had engaged for the length of his intended trip. At that time he had still the firm intention to go to Kúkawa by way of Kanó, and begged me to leave his things there. He was in excellent health, and full of an enthusiastic desire to devote himself to the study of the new world which opened before us; and we parted with a hearty wish for each other's success in our different quarters before we were to meet again in the capital of Bórnu, for we did not then know that we should have an interview in Tasáwa.

I now went on alone, but felt not at all depressed by solitude, as I had been accustomed from my youth to wander about by myself among strange people. I felt disposed, indeed, to enter into a close connection with my black friend Gajére, who was very communicative, but oftentimes rather rude, and unable to refrain from occasionally mocking the stranger who wanted to know everything, and would not acknowledge Mohammed in all his prophetic glory.

Thus we reached Gozenákko. Scarcely had our people made themselves comfortable, when their appetite was excited by a various assortment of the delicacies of the country, clamorously offered for sale by crowds of women from the village.

*Wednesday, January 15th.* At the very dawn of day, to my great astonishment, I was called out of the tent by Mohammed, who told me that Fárraji, Lúsu's man, our companion from Ghát, had suddenly arrived from Zínder with three or four Bórnu horsemen, and had express orders with regard

to me. However, when I went out to salute him, he said nothing of his errand, but simply told me that he wanted first to speak to Elaíji, the chief of the caravan. I therefore went to the latter myself to know what was the matter, and learned from the old man that, though he was not able to make out all the terms of the letters of which Fárraji was the bearer, one of which was written by the sheríf and the other by Lúsu, he yet understood that the horsemen had come with no other purpose but to take myself and Overweg to Zínder, without consulting our wishes, and that the sheríf as well as Lúsu had instructed him to send us off in company with these fellows, but that they had also a letter for A'nnur, who ought to be consulted. As for himself, the old man (well aware of the real state of affairs, and that the averment of a letter having arrived from the consul at Tripoli to the effect that, till further measures were taken with regard to our recent losses, we ought to stay in Bórnu, was a mere sham and fabrication) declared that he would not force us to do anything against our inclination, but that we ought to decide ourselves what was best to be done.

Having, therefore, a double reason for going to Tasáwa, a few miles west of Gozenákko, I set out as early as possible, accompanied by my faithless, wanton Tunisian shushán, and by my faithful, sedate Tageláli overseer. After two miles more we reached the suburbs, and, crossing them, kept along the outer ditch which runs round the stockade of the town, in order to reach Al Wáli's house, under whose special protection I knew that Mr. Overweg had placed himself.

My friend's quarters, into which we were shown, were very comfortable, although rather narrow. They consisted of a court-yard, fenced with mats made of reeds, and containing a large shed or "runfá," likewise built of mats and stalks, and a tolerably spacious hut, the walls built of clay ("bángo"), but with a thatched roof ("shíbki"). The inner part of it was guarded by a cross-wall from the prying of indiscreet eyes.

Overweg was not a little surprised on hearing the recent news; and we sent for El Wákhshi, our Ghadámsi friend from

Tin-téggana, in order to consult him, as one who had long resided in these countries, and who, we had reason to hope, would be uninfluenced by personal considerations. He firmly pronounced his opinion that we ought not to go.

We were still considering the question, when we were informed that our old protector, the chief A'nnur, had just arrived from Zínder, and I immediately determined to go to see him in his own domain at Náchira, situated at a little more than a mile N. E. from Tasáwa.

[A'nnur advised them to act freely, and according to the best of their knowledge.]

*Thursday, January 16th.* We still encamped near Gozenákko, and I was busy studying Temáshight, after which I once more went over the letter of the sheríf El Fási, Háj Beshír's agent in Zínder; and having become fully aware of the dictatorial manner in which he had requested Elaíji to forward myself and Mr. Overweg to him (just as a piece of merchandise) without asking our consent, I sat down to write him a suitable answer, assuring him that, as I was desirous of paying my respects to the son of Mohammed el Kánemi and his enlightened vizier, I would set out for their residence as soon as I had settled my affairs in Kanó, and that I was sure of attaining my ends without his intervention, as I had not the least desire to visit him.

This letter, as subsequent events proved, grew into importance, for the sheríf, being perplexed by its tone, sent it straight on to Kúkawa, where it served to introduce me at once to the sheikh and his vizier. But the difficulty was to send it off with the warlike messengers who had brought the sheríf's letters, as they would not go without us, and swore that their orders, from the sheríf as well as from Serk' Ibrám, were so peremptory that they should be utterly disgraced if they returned empty-handed. At length, after a violent dispute with Fárraji and these warlike-looking horsemen, the old chief, who took my part very fairly, finished the matter by plainly stating that if we ourselves, of our own free will, wanted to go, we might do so; but if we did not wish to go, instead of forcing

us, he would defend us against anybody who should dare to offer us violence. Nevertheless, the messengers would not depart, and it seemed impossible to get rid of them till I made each of them a present of two mithkáls, when they mounted their horses with a very bad grace, and went off with my letter. The energetic and straightforward, but penurious old chief left us in the afternoon, and rode to Kálgo, a village at no great distance.

*Friday, January 17th.* Still another day of halt, in order, as I was told, to allow Háj 'Abdúwa's salt-caravan to come up and join us. Being tired of the camp, I once more went into the town to spend my day usefully and pleasantly; leaving all my people behind, I was accompanied by some of my fellow-travellers of the caravan. Arriving at Overweg's quarters, what was my surprise to find Fárraji not yet gone, but endeavoring to persuade my companion, with all the arts of his barbarous eloquence, that, though I should not go, he at least might, in which case he would be amply rewarded with the many fine things which had been prepared in Zínder for our reception. The poor fellow was greatly cast down when he saw me, and soon made off in very bad humor, while I went with Mr. Overweg to El Wákhshi, who was just occupied in that most tedious of all commercial transactions in these countries, namely, the counting of shells; for in all these inland countries of Central Africa the cowries or kurdí (*Cyprœa moneta*) are not, as is customary in some regions near the coast, fastened together in strings of one hundred each, but are separate, and must be counted one by one. Even those "tákrufa" (or sacks made of rushes) containing 20,000 kurdí each, as the governors of the towns are in the habit of packing them up, no private individual will receive without counting them out. The general custom in so doing is to count them by fives, in which operation some are very expert, and then, according to the amount of the sum, to form heaps of two hundred (or ten háwiyas) or a thousand each. We at length succeeded, with the help of some five or six other people, in the really heroic work of counting 500,000 shells.

*Saturday, January 18th.* We made a good start with our camels, which, having been treated to a considerable allowance of salt on the first day of our halt, had made the best possible use of these four days' rest to recruit their strength. At the considerable village of Kálgo, which we passed at a little less than five miles beyond our encampment, the country became rather hilly, but only for a short distance.

[The journey to Kátsena lasted till the 21st of January, when the party encamped about two miles from that town.]

While we were pitching my tent, which was the only one in the whole encampment, the sultan or governor of Kátsena came out with a numerous retinue of horsemen, all well dressed and mounted; and having learned from Elaíji that I was a Christian traveller belonging to a mission (a fact, however, which he knew long before), he sent me soon afterward a ram and two large calabashes or dúmmas filled with honey—an honor which was rather disagreeable to me than otherwise, as it placed me under the necessity of making the governor a considerable present in return. I had no article of value with me, and I began to feel some unpleasant forebodings of future difficulties.

Being rather uneasy with regard to the intention of the governor of the province, I went early the next morning to Elaíji, and assured him that, besides some small things, such as razors, cloves, and frankincense, I possessed only two red caps to give to the governor, and that I could not afford to contract more debts by buying a bernús. The good old man was himself aware of the governor's intention, who, he told me, had made up his mind to get a large present from me, otherwise he would not allow me to continue my journey. I wanted to visit the town, but was prevented from doing so under these circumstances, and therefore remained in the encampment.

Afterward I was visited by El Wákhshi, and paid him, in return, a visit at that part of the encampment where some of his merchandise was deposited, for he himself was living in the town. Here he introduced to me a person who was very soon to become one of my direst tormenters, the bare remembrance of whom is even now unpleasant; it was the hâj Bel-Ghét, a

man born in Tawát, but who had long been settled in Kátsena, and though not with the title, yet in reality holding the office of "a serkí-n-turáwa."

*Thursday, January* 23*d.* Having assorted such a present as I could afford, I protested once more to Elaíji that, my other luggage having gone on in advance to Kanó, I had but very little to offer to the governor.

I went about noon with my protector and a great number of A'sbenáwa to offer the governor my compliments and my present. Sitting down under a tree at a considerable distance from the spot where he himself was seated, we waited a little, till we should be called into his presence, when his brother, who held the office of ghaladíma, came to us — a man of immense corpulency, resembling a eunuch. Indeed, nothing but the cut of his face, his aquiline nose, and rather light color, and the little goatlike beard which ornamented his chin, could expose him to the suspicion of being a Púllo or Ba-Féllanchi. He wanted to treat my business apart from that of Elaíji, who, however, declared that he had come only for my sake. While the fat ghaladíma was returning to inform his brother of what he had heard, a troop of well-mounted Kél-esárar (who, as I was told, are settled at present in the province of Kátsena) came up at full speed. It was not long before a servant came from the serkí, inviting me alone into his presence.

Mohammed Béllo Yeríma, the eldest son of the former well-known Governor M'allem Ghomáro, was seated under a wide-spreading and luxuriant tamarind-tree, dressed simply in a large white shirt, with a black ráwani round his face. The A'sbenáwa, who formed a large semicircle around him, were dressed most gaudily. Stepping into the opening of the semicircle, I saluted the governor, telling him that as I and my companions had lost, on the border of A'sben, almost all the valuable property we had brought with us, and as the few things left to me had gone on to Kanó, he ought to excuse me for being unable, at the present moment, to offer him a present worthy of his high position; that it was my desire to go on without delay to Kanó, in order to settle my affairs, and to proceed to Bórnu,

where we expected to receive fresh supplies, after which one of our party certainly would go to Sókoto, in order to pay our respects to the Emír el Múmenín. The governor answered my address with much apparent kindness, telling me that I was now in his "imána," or under his protection, and that he had no other purpose but to do what would be conducive to my advantage. He then asked the news of my companions, though he knew all about them, and did not appear to take the least offence at Mr. Overweg's going to Marádi, although the people and the ruler of that place were his most inveterate enemies. But things must not be looked upon here as they would be in Europe; for here people are accustomed to see strangers from the north pay visits to all sorts of princes, whatever may be their policy. However, while he spoke in rather friendly terms to me, and while my presents were received thankfully by the servants, he declared to the people who were sitting near him that, as the ruler of Bórnu had laid hold of one of my companions, and that of Marádi of the other, he should be a fool if he were to let me pass out of his hands. I therefore took leave of him with no very light heart.

My present consisted of two fine red caps, a piece of printed calico which I had bought in Múrzuk for four Spanish dollars, but which was of a pattern not much liked in Sudán, an English razor and scissors, one pound of cloves, another of frankincense, a piece of fine soap, and a packet of English needles. Though it certainly was not a very brilliant present, yet, considering that I did not want anything from him, it was quite enough; but the fact was that he wanted something more from me, and therefore it was not sufficient.

[By the intrigues of Bel-Ghét, and the rapacity of the governor, Dr. Barth was detained in Kátsena till the 29th of January. Having at last conciliated Bel-Ghét, he was permitted to pursue his journey. He thus describes the parting interview with the governor.]

The next morning, January 29th, therefore, I proceeded with Bel-Ghét, to whose swollen eye I had successfully applied a lotion, and whose greediness I had satisfied with another small

present, on the way to the "zinsere." He wished to show me the interior of the immense palace or the "fáda;" but he could not obtain access to it, and I did not see it till on my second visit to Kátsena.

Béllo received me in his private apartment, and detained me for full two hours, while I gave him complete information about the use of the medicines. He wanted, besides, two things from me, which I could not favor him with — things of very different character, and the most desired by all the princes of Negroland. One of these was a "mágani-n-algúwa" (a medicine to increase his conjugal vigor); the other, some rockets, as a "mágani-n-yáki" (a medicine of war), in order to frighten his enemies.

Not being able to comply with these two modest wishes of his, I had great difficulty in convincing him of my good will; and he remained incredulous to my protestations that we had intentionally not taken such things as rockets with us, as we were afraid that, if we gave such a thing to one prince, his neighbor might become fiercely hostile to us. But he remarked that he would keep such a gift a secret. I was very glad he did not say a word more about the pistols; but in order to give me a proof that he knew how to value fine things, he showed me the scissors and razor which I had given him the other day, for which he had got a sheath made, and wore them constantly at his left side. He then told me he would make me a present of an "abi-n-háwa" (something to mount upon), intimating already by this expression that it would not be a first-rate horse, as I had not complied with his heart's desire, but that it would be furnished with saddle and harness, and that, besides, he would send me a large "hákkori-n-gíwa" (an elephant's tooth) to Kanó. This latter offer I declined, saying that, though my means were very small at present, I did not like to turn merchant. He reminded me then of my promise to return, and we parted the best of friends. Notwithstanding the injustice of every kind which he daily commits, he has some sentiment of honor; and feeling rather ashamed for having given me so much trouble for nothing, as he was aware that it

would become known to his fellow-governors, and probably even to his liege lord, the Emír el Mumenín, he was anxious to vindicate his reputation. It was from the same motive that he begged me most urgently not to tell any body that I had made him the presents here, adding that he would afterward say that he had received them from me from Kánó.

Having returned home, I thankfully received the compliments which were made me from different quarters on account of the fortunate issue of my affair with this "munáfeki," or evil-doer; and although the horse, which was not brought till next morning, after we had been waiting for it a long while, proved rather ill-looking and poor, being scarcely worth more than ten thousand kurdí, or four dollars, and though the saddle was broken and harness wanting altogether, I was quite content, and exulted in my good fortune.

*Thursday, January 30th.* I was extremely glad when, after a long delay — for we had been obliged to wait more than an hour for the poor nag presented to me by the governor — we reached the southeastern gate of the town, the "kófa-n-Káura." It was as if I had just escaped from a prison, and I drew my breath deeply as I inhaled the fresh air outside the wall. I should have carried with me a very unfavorable impression of Kátsena if it had not been my destiny to visit this place again under more favorable circumstances; and I should have obtained a very false idea of the character of the Fúlbe if, from the little experience which I had acquired in this place, I had formed a definitive judgment of them.

On the southern side of the town there is at present no cultivated ground, but the whole country is in a wild state, covered with brushwood. What we saw also of the traffic on the path seemed to be not of a very peaceable kind; for we met nothing but armed foot and horsemen, hastening to Kátsena on the news of the expedition in course of preparation by the people of Marádi. But farther on, the aspect of the country became a little more peaceful; and after a march of three miles we passed a well, where the women from a neighboring village were offering for sale the common vegetables of the country, such as

gowáza or yams, dánkali or sweet potatoes, kúka, the leaves of the monkey bread-tree, dodówa or the vegetable cakes mentioned above, ground-nuts, beans, and sour milk. Nevertheless, the whole country, with its few fortified villages, its little cultivation, and the thick forests which separated the villages one from another, left the impression of a very unsettled and precarious existence.

A little before four o'clock in the afternoon we encamped close to a village called Shibdáwa, the celebrated town of Dáura being distant two days' march.

*Friday, January* 31*st.* It was a most beautiful morning, and I indulged in the feeling of unbounded liberty, and in the tranquil enjoyment of the beautiful aspect of God's creation. The country through which we passed on leaving Shibdáwa formed one of the finest landscapes I ever saw in my life. The ground was pleasantly undulating, covered with a profusion of herbage not yet entirely dried up by the sun's power; the trees, belonging to a great variety of species, were not thrown together into an impenetrable thicket of the forest, but formed into beautiful groups, exhibiting all the advantage of light and shade.

*Saturday, February* 1*st.* After a march of about two miles and a half, over clayey ground greatly broken up by the rains, we reached the N. W. corner of the considerable town Kusáda, and continued along its western wall, where a group of very tall and majestic rimis (*Bombax* or *Eriodendron Guineense*), though at present leafless, formed a most conspicuous object. It is very singular and highly characteristic that this tree (the bentang-tree of Mungo Park) generally grows near the principal gate of the large towns in Háusa, while otherwise it is not frequent, at least not the large, full-grown specimens; and it is not improbable that the natives purposely planted them in those places as a kind of waymark; or perhaps it may be a remnant of their pagan customs, this tree being deemed holy by several pagan tribes. It is almost incredible at what an immense distance these stupendous trees, the tallest of the vegetable kingdom, may be seen.

Kusáda is a town of importance, and is very little less than

Gazáwa, though not so thickly inhabited. The wall of the town is in tolerably good repair, and the interior is rich in trees, making it look very cheerful and comfortable. Most of the huts consist of clay walls, with a thatched roof, which is certainly the mode of architecture best adapted to the climate and the whole nature of the country.

We encamped early in the afternoon near the village Gúrzo, separated from it only by a dell laid out in small garden-fields with wheat and onions, and obtained a good supply of the latter, but nothing else. In the night a thief almost succeeded in carrying off some of our luggage, but had to run very hard for his life.

Early the next morning we started with an enthusiastic impulse, in order to reach before night the celebrated emporium of Central Negroland. Kanó, indeed, is a name which excites enthusiasm in every traveller in these regions, from whatever quarter he may come, but principally if he arrives from the north. We thus started in the twilight, passing in the bush some herds of cattle remaining out in the pasture-grounds, and meeting several troops of travellers, which made us fancy the capital to be nearer than it really was. We listened to the tales of our comely and cheerful companion, the "babá-n-báwa" of Tágelel, who detailed to us the wonders of this African London, Birmingham, and Manchester — the vastness of the town, the palace and retinue of the governor, the immense multitudes assembled every day in its market-place, the splendor and richness of the merchandise exposed there for sale, the various delicacies of the table, the beauty and gracefulness of its ladies. At times my fiery Tunisian mulatto shouted out from mere anticipation of the pleasures which awaited him.

About half past one in the afternoon we entered the rich district of Dáwano, which almost exclusively belongs to the wealthy Dan Mália, and is chiefly inhabited by Féllani. There was here a large market-place, consisting of several rows of well-built sheds, and frequented by numbers of people. A few market-women attached themselves to our little troop, giving us assurance that we should be able to reach the "bírni"

to-day, but then added that we ought to arrive at the outer gate before sunset, as it is shut at that time.

We accordingly pressed on with our varied little caravan, consisting of a very lean black horse, covered with coarse wool-like hair, worth four dollars, or perhaps less; a mare, scarcely worth more in its present condition; a camel, my faithful Bú-Séfi, evidently the most respectable four-footed member of the troop, carrying a very awkward load, representing my whole travelling household, with writing-table and bedding-boards; a sumpter-ox, heavily laden; then the four human bipeds to match, viz., one half-barbarized European, one half-civilized Góberáwi Tunisian mulatto, a young lean Tébu lad, and my stout, sturdy, and grave overseer from Tágelel. As we then entered some fields of sesamum, or "nóme" (quite a new sight for me in this country, but which was soon to become of very common occurrence), Gajére descried in the distance between the trees the top of the hill Dalá, and we all strained our eyes to get a first glimpse of this hill, which is the real landmark of Kanó; but nothing was as yet visible of the town, and we had but faint hopes of reaching it before sunset. However, we went on, though a little disheartened, as we had some foreboding that we should incur the displeasure of the governor; and passing through the gate, in front of which part of the aïri were encamped, without stopping, as if we were natives of the country, went on across open fields. It took us forty minutes to reach the house of Báwu from the gate, though this lies near the very outskirts of Dalá, the northernmost quarter of the town.

It was quite dark, and we had some trouble in taking possession of the quarters assigned to us by our host.

Kanó had been sounding in my ears now for more than a year; it had been one of the great objects of our journey as the central point of commerce, as a great store-house of information, and as the point whence more distant regions might be most successfully attempted. At length, after nearly a year's exertions, I had reached it.

## CHAPTER X.

Residence in Kanó—Finances—Appearance of the Streets of Kanó, and the People—Visit to the Governor—Presents—Population, Manufactures, and Commerce of Kanó. Its Army, Finances, and Government—Journey from Kanó the capital of Háusa to Bórnu—Dr. Barth hears of Mr. Richardson's Death, and visits his Grave—Dr. Barth arrives at Kúkawa, the capital of the empire of Bórnu.

KANO' for us was a station of importance, not only from a scientific, but also from an economical point of view. Instead of being provided with ready cash, we had received in Múrzuk, on account of the British government, merchandise which, we had been assured, would not only be safer than money, but would also prove more advantageous for us. In consequence of the heavy extortions to which we were subjected on the road to Aïr, and of our long delay in that country, we had been deprived of the small articles which we carried for barter, so that we were entirely thrown upon the merchandise which we had forwarded in advance from Tintéggana; and I, for my part, on my arrival in Kanó, had to liquidate a debt of not less than 112,300 kurdí, viz., 55,000 for the carriage of this very merchandise from Tintéggana to Kanó; 8300 as my share of the presents or passage-money given on the road; 18,000 to Gajére, as hire for the mare and bullock; and 31,000 to a man of the name of Háj el Dáwaki, on account of Abú-Bakr el Wákhshi, for the articles bought from him in Kátsena, in order to satisfy the governor of that place. Besides, I was aware that I had to make a considerable present to the Governor of Kanó; and I was most desirous to discharge Mohammed e' Túnsi, whom I had discovered to be utterly useless in these countries, and who, besides his insupportable insolence, might bring me into trouble by his inconsiderate and frivolous conduct.

These were material calls upon my incumbered property. On my mind, too, there were claims of a not less serious character; for, from my very outset from Europe, I had steadily fixed my eyes upon that eastern branch of the Kwára, or so-called Niger, which Laird, Allen, and Oldfield had navigated for the distance of some eighty miles, and which the former (although he himself did not penetrate farther than Fánda) had, with reasons decisive in my eyes, concluded to have no communication whatever with Lake Tsád, but to proceed from another and very different quarter.

For all these reasons, nothing could be more disagreeable and disheartening to me, though I was not quite unprepared for it, than the information which I received the very evening of my arrival in Kanó, that the price of merchandise such as I had was very low. In the next place, I soon found that Báwu, Mr. Gagliuffi's agent, whom, in compliance with his recommendation, we had made also our commissioner, was not to be implicitly relied on.

It will scarcely be believed that this man, although he had two camel-loads of goods of mine in his hands, yet left me without a single shell, "ko urí gudá," for a whole fortnight, so that I was glad to borrow two thousand kurdí, less than an Austrian dollar, from Mohammed e' Sfáksi, in order to defray the most necessary expenses of my household.

Besides, this agent urged the absolute necessity of making a considerable present not only to the governor, which I was quite prepared to do, but another of nearly the same value to the galadíma or first minister, who happened to be the governor's brother, and enjoyed quite as much authority and influence. The consequence was, that I was obliged to give away the few articles of value in my possession merely for being tolerated and protected. The second day after my arrival the governor received a message from Mr. Richardson, forwarded from Zínder, intimating that, after he should have received new supplies from the coast, he would not fail to come to Kanó; whereupon he sent me word that I had done very wrong to enter his town without giving him previous information,

whereas my countryman had already forwarded a notice that at some future period he was likely to pay him a visit. Besides, concluding from the fact that I was not mentioned at all in that letter that I was travelling on my own account, he made also greater pretensions with regard to a present.

Being lodged in dark, uncomfortable, and cheerless quarters, which I was forbidden to leave before the governor had seen me, destitute of a single farthing in cash, while I was daily called upon and pestered by my numerous creditors, and laughed at on account of my poverty by an insolent servant, my readers may fancy that my situation in the great, far-famed entrepôt of Central Africa, the name of which had excited my imagination for so long a time, was far from agreeable. Partly from anxiety, partly from want of exercise, in the course of a few days I had a very severe attack of fever, which reduced me to a state of great weakness. Fortunately, however, I mustered sufficient strength to avail myself of a summons which called me at length into the presence of the governor, on the 18th of February; and, by sacrificing what few things remained to me, I paved the road for my further proceedings, while the degree of exertion which was necessary to undergo the fatigue of my visit carried me over my weakness, and restored me gradually to health. The distances in Kanó, though less than those of London, are very great; and the ceremonies to be gone through are scarcely less tedious than those at any European court.

Clothing myself as warmly as possible in my Tunisian dress, and wearing over it a white tobe and a white bernús, I mounted my poor black nag, and followed my three mediators and advocates. These were Báwu, Elaíji, and Sídi 'Ali.

It was a very fine morning, and the whole scenery of the town, in its great variety of clay houses, huts, sheds, green open places affording pasture for oxen, horses, camels, donkeys, and goats, in motley confusion, the people in all varieties of costume, from the naked slave up to the most gaudily dressed Arab, all formed a most animated and exciting scene. As far as the market-place I had already proceeded on foot;

but Báwu, as soon as he saw me, had hurried me back to my lodgings, as having not yet been formally received by the governor. But no one on foot can get a correct idea of an African town, confined as he often is on every side by the fences and walls, while on horseback he obtains an insight into all the court-yards, becomes an eye-witness of scenes of private life, and often with one glance surveys a whole town.

Passing through the market-place, which had only begun to collect its crowds, and crossing the narrow neck of land which divides the characteristic pool "Jákara," we entered the quarters of the ruling race, the Fúlbe or Féllani, where conical huts of thatch-work and the gónda-tree are prevalent, and where most beautiful and lively pictures of nature meet the eye on all sides. Thus we proceeded, first to the house of the gadó (the lord of the treasury), who had already called several times at my house, and acted as the mediator between myself and the governor.

His house was a most interesting specimen of the domestic arrangements of the Fúlbe, who, however civilized they may have become, do not disown their original character as "berorój i," or nomadic cattle-breeders. His court-yard, though in the middle of the town, looked like a farm-yard, and could not be conscientiously commended for its cleanliness. Having with difficulty found a small spot to sit down upon without much danger of soiling our clothes, we had to wait patiently till his excellency had examined and approved of the presents. Having manifested his satisfaction with them by appropriating to himself a very handsome large gilt cup, which with great risk I had carried safely through the desert, he accompanied us to the "fáda," "lamórde," or palace, which forms a real labyrinth of court-yards, provided with spacious round huts of audience, built of clay, with a door on each side, and connected together by narrow intricate passages. Hundreds of lazy, arrogant courtiers, freemen, and slaves were lounging and idling here, killing time with trivial and saucy jokes.

We were first conducted to the audience-hall of the ghaladíma, who, while living in a separate palace, visits the "fáda"

almost every day, in order to act in his important and influential office as vizier. The governor was then eight-and-thirty, the ghaladíma seven-and-thirty years of age. They were both stout and handsome men, the governor rather too stout and clumsy. Their apartments were so excessively dark that, coming from a sunny place, it was some time before I could distinguish anybody. The governor's hall was very handsome, and even stately for this country, and was the more imposing as the rafters supporting the very elevated ceiling were concealed; two lofty arches of clay, very neatly polished and ornamented, appearing to support the whole. At the bottom of the apartment were two spacious and highly-decorated niches, in one of which the governor was reposing on a "gado," spread with a carpet. His dress was not that of a simple "Púllo," but consisted of all the mixed finery of Háusa and Barbary; he allowed his face to be seen, the white shawl hanging down far below his mouth over his breast.

In both audiences (as well that with the "ghaladíma" as with the governor) old Elaíji was the speaker, beginning his speech with a *captatio benevolentiæ*, founded on the heavy and numerous losses sustained on the road by myself and my companions. Altogether, he performed his office very well, with the exception that he dwelt longer than was necessary on Overweg's journey to Marádi, which certainly could not be a very agreeable topic to Ba-Féllanchi. Sídi 'Ali also displayed his eloquence in a very fair way. The ghaladíma made some intelligent observations, while the governor only observed that, though I had suffered so severely from extortion, yet I seemed to have still ample presents for him. Nor was he far wrong; for the black "kabá" (a sort of bernús, with silk and gold lace, which I gave him) was a very handsome garment, and here worth sixty thousand kurdí; besides, he got a red cap, a white shawl with red border, a piece of white muslin, rose oil, one pound of cloves, and another of jáwi or benzoin, razor, scissors, an English clasp-knife, and a large mirror of German silver. The ghaladíma got the same presents, except that,

instead of the kabá, I gave him a piece of French striped silk worth fifty thousand kurdí.

Having now at length made my peace with the governor, and seeing that exercise of body and recreation of mind were the best medicines I could resort to, I mounted on horseback the next day again, and, guided by a lad well acquainted with the topography of the town, rode for several hours round all the inhabited quarters, enjoying at my leisure, from the saddle, the manifold scenes of public and private life, of comfort and happiness, of luxury and misery, of activity and laziness, of industry and indolence, which were exhibited in the streets, the market-places, and in the interior of the court-yards. It was the most animated picture of a little world in itself, so different in external form from all that is seen in European towns, yet so similar in its internal principles.

Here a row of shops, filled with articles of native and foreign produce, with buyers and sellers in every variety of figure, complexion, and dress, yet all intent upon their little gain, endeavoring to cheat each other; there a large shed, like a hurdle, full of half-naked, half-starved slaves, torn from their native homes, from their wives or husbands, from their children or parents, arranged in rows like cattle, and staring desperately upon the buyers, anxiously watching into whose hands it should be their destiny to fall. In another part were to be seen all the necessaries of life; the wealthy buying the most palatable things for his table; the poor stopping and looking greedily upon a handful of grain: here a rich governor, dressed in silk and gaudy clothes, mounted upon a spirited and richly-caparisoned horse, and followed by a host of idle, insolent slaves; there a poor blind man groping his way through the multitude, and fearing at every step to be trodden down; here a yard neatly fenced with mats of reed, and provided with all the comforts which the country affords—a clean, snug-looking cottage, the clay walls nicely polished, a shutter of reeds placed against the low, well-rounded door, and forbidding intrusion on the privacy of life, a cool shed for the daily household work—a fine spreading alléluba-tree, affording

a pleasant shade during the hottest hours of the day, or a beautiful gónda or papaya unfolding its large, feather-like leaves above a slender, smooth, and undivided stem, or the tall date-tree, waving over the whole scene; the matron, in a clean black cotton gown wound round her waist, her hair neatly dressed in "chókoli" or bejáji, busy preparing the meal for her absent husband, or spinning cotton, and, at the same time, urging the female slaves to pound the corn; the children, naked and merry, playing about in the sand at the "urgi-n-dáwaki" or the "da-n-chácha," or chasing a straggling, stubborn goat; earthenware pots and wooden bowls, all cleanly washed, standing in order. Farther on, a dashing Cyprian, homeless, comfortless, and childless, but affecting merriment or forcing a wanton laugh, gaudily ornamented with numerous strings of beads round her neck, her hair fancifully dressed, and bound with a diadem, her gown of various colors loosely fastened under her luxuriant breast, and trailing behind in the sand; near her a diseased wretch covered with ulcers or with elephantiasis.

Delighted with my trip, and deeply impressed by the many curious and interesting scenes which had presented themselves to my eyes, I returned to my quarters, the gloominess and cheerlessness of which made the more painful impression upon me from its contrast with the brightly animated picture which I had just before enjoyed.

The next day I made another long ride through the town, and, being tolerably well acquainted with the topography of the place and its different quarters, I enjoyed still more the charming view obtained from the top of the Dalá, and of which the accompanying sketch is but a feeble representation.

I had considerable difficulty in arranging my pecuniary affairs, and felt really ashamed at being unable to pay my debt to the Háj el Dáwaki till after Wákhshi himself had arrived from Kátsena. After having sold, with difficulty, all that I possessed, having suffered a very heavy loss by Báwu's dishonesty, paid my debts, and arranged my business with Mohammed el Tánsi, who, suffering under a very severe attack of

fever, wanted most eagerly to return home, I should scarcely have been able to make the necessary preparations for my journey to Bórnu if the governor had not assisted me a little. He had hitherto behaved very shabbily toward me; not a single dish, not a sheep or other token of his hospitality, having been sent me during my stay in the town. I was therefore most agreeably surprised when, on the morning of the 2d of March, old Elaíji came and announced to me that, in consequence of his urgent remonstrances, the governor had sent me a present of sixty thousand kurdí. He told me, with a sort of pride, that he had severely reprimanded him, assuring him that he was the only prince who had not honored me. I should have been better pleased if the governor had sent me a pair of camels or a horse; but I was thankful for this unexpected supply; and, giving six thousand to the officer who had brought the money, and as much to Elaíji, and dividing eight thousand between Báwu and Sídi 'Ali, I kept forty thousand for myself.

With this present I was fortunately enabled to buy two camels instead of sumpter oxen, which give great trouble on the road during the dry season, and prepared everything for my journey.

In estimating the population of the town of Kanó at 30,000, I am certainly not above the truth. Captain Clapperton estimated it at from 30,000 to 40,000.

The principal commerce of Kanó consists in native produce, namely, the cotton cloth woven and dyed here or in the neighboring towns, in the form of tobes or rígona (*sing.* ríga); túrkedí, or the oblong piece of dress of dark-blue color worn by the women; the zénne or plaid, of various colors; and the ráwani bakí, or black lithám.

The great advantage of Kanó is, that commerce and manufactures go hand in hand, and that almost every family has its share in them.

Besides the cloth produced and dyed in Kanó and in the neighboring villages, there is a considerable commerce carried on here with the cloth manufactured in Ny'ffi or Núpe. The

tobes brought from Ny'ffi are either large black ones, or of mixed silk and cotton.

With regard to the former, which are called "gíwa" (the elephant's shirt), I am unable to say why the Kanáwa are not capable of manufacturing them themselves; but it seems that, while they thoroughly understand how to impart the most beautiful dye to the túrkedí, they are unable to apply the same to the ríga—I do not know why.

Of the latter kind there are several varieties; the ríga sáki, with small squares blue and white, as if speckled, and therefore called by the Arabs "fílfil" (pepper), and by the Tawárek, who esteem it more than any other kind, the "Guinea-fowl shirt" (tekátkat taílelt), as shown in the accompanying woodcut, is very becoming, and was my ordinary dress from the

moment I was rich enough to purchase it, as a good one fetches as much as from eighteen to twenty thousand kurdí; then the tob-harír, with stripes of speckled cast like the taílelt, but intermixed with red; the jellába, red and white, with em-

broidery of green silk, and several others. Specimens of all these I have brought home and delivered to the Foreign Office.

The chief articles of native industry, besides cloth, which have a wide market, are principally sandals.

Besides these manufactures, the chief article of African produce in the Kanó market is the "gúro," or kola-nut; but while, on the one hand, it forms an important article of transit, and brings considerable profit, on the other, large sums are expended by the natives upon this luxury, which has become to them as necessary as coffee or tea to us. The import of this nut into Kanó, comprising certainly more than five hundred ass-loads every year, the load of each, if safely brought to the market—for it is a very delicate article, and very liable to spoil —being sold for about 200,000 kurdí, will amount to an average of from eighty to one hundred millions. Of this sum, I think we shall be correct in asserting about half to be paid for by the natives of the province, while the other half will be profit.

But we must bear in mind that the greater part of the persons employed in this trade are Kanáwa, and that therefore they and their families subsist upon this branch of trade.

A very important branch of the native commerce in Kanó is certainly the slave-trade; but it is extremely difficult to say how many of these unfortunate creatures are exported, as a greater number are carried away by small caravans to Bórnu and Núpe, than on the direct road to Ghát and Fezzán. Altogether, I do not think that the number of slaves annually exported from Kanó exceeds 5000; but, of course, a considerable number are sold into domestic slavery, either to the inhabitants of the province itself or to those of the adjoining districts. The value of this trade, of which only a small percentage falls to the profit of the Kanáwa, besides the tax which is levied in the market, may altogether amount to from a hundred and fifty to two hundred millions of kurdí per annum.

But I must here speak about a point of very great importance for the English, both as regards their honor and their commercial activity. The final opening of the lower course

of the Kawára has been one of the most glorious achievements of English discovery, bought with the lives of so many enterprising men. But it seems that the English are more apt to perform a great deed than to follow up its consequences. After they have opened this noble river to the knowledge of Europe, frightened by the sacrifice of a few lives, instead of using it themselves for the benefit of the nations of the interior, they have allowed it to fall into the hands of the American slave-dealers, who have opened a regular annual slave-trade with those very regions, while the English seem not to have even the slightest idea of such a traffic going on. Thus American produce, brought in large quantities to the market of Núpe, has begun to inundate Central Africa, to the great damage of the commerce and the most unqualified scandal of the Arabs, who think that the English, if they would, could easily prevent it. For this is not a legitimate commerce; it is nothing but slave-traffic on a large scale, the Americans taking nothing in return for their merchandise and their dollars but slaves, besides a small quantity of natron. On this painful subject I have written repeatedly to H. M.'s consul in Tripoli, and to H. M.'s government, and I have spoken energetically about it to Lord Palmerston since my return. I principally regret in this respect the death of Mr. Richardson, who, in his eloquent language, would have dealt worthily with this question. But even from his unfinished journals as they have been published, it is clear that, during his short stay in the country before he was doomed to succumb, he became well aware of what was going on.

The province of Kanó, which comprises a very fertile district of considerable extent, contains, according to my computation, more than two hundred thousand free people, besides at least an equal number of slaves, so that the whole population of the province amounts to more than half a million, though it may greatly exceed this number. The governor is able to raise an army of seven thousand horse, and more than twenty thousand men on foot. In the most flourishing state

of the country, the Governor of Kanó is said to have been able to bring into the field as many as ten thousand horse.

The tribute which he levies is very large considering the state of the country, amounting altogether to about one hundred millions of kurdí* besides the presents received from merchants. The most considerable item of his revenue consists in the "kurdí-n-kása" (which is called in Kanúri "lárderám"), or the ground-rent. It is said to amount to ninety millions, and is levied, both here and in the province of Kátsena, not from the ground under cultivation, but every head of a family has to pay two thousand five hundred kurdí, or just a Spanish dollar; in the province of Zégzeg, on the contrary, the kurdí-n-kása is a tax of five hundred kurdí levied on every fertáña or hoe, and a single hoe will cultivate a piece of ground capable of producing from one hundred to two hundred "démmi" or sheaves of grain (sorghum and pennisetum), each of which contains two kél, while fifty kél are reckoned sufficient for a man's sustenance during a whole year. Besides the kurdí-n-kása, the governor levies an annual tax called "kurdí-n-korófi," of seven hundred kurdí on every dyeing-pot or korófi, of which there are more than two thousand in the town alone; a "fítto" of five hundred kurdí on every slave sold in the market; an annual tax, "kurdí-n-debíno," of six hundred kurdí on every palm-tree, and a small tax called "kurdí-n-ráfi" on the vegetables sold in the market, such as dánkali or sweet potatoes, gwáza or yams, rísga, rógo, &c. This latter tax is very singular, as the meat, or the cattle brought into the town, as far as I know, does not pay any tax at all. Clapperton was mistaken in stating that all the date-trees in the town belong to the governor, which is not more true than that all the sheds in the market belong to him.

With regard to the government in general, I think, in this province, where there is so much lively intercourse, and where publicity is given very soon to every incident, it is not oppressive; though the behavior of the ruling class is certainly

* 100,000 kurdí is equal to $60.

haughty, and there is, no doubt, a great deal of injustice inflicted in small matters. The etiquette of the court, which is far more strict than in Sókoto, must prevent any poor man from entering the presence of the governor. The Fúlbe marry the handsome daughters of the subjugated tribe, but would not condescend to give their own daughters to the men of that tribe as wives. As far as I saw, their original type has been well preserved as yet, though, by obtaining possession of wealth and comfort, their warlike character has been greatly impaired, and the Féllani-n-Kanó have become notorious for their cowardice throughout the whole of Negroland.

*Sunday, March 9th.* The traveller who would leave a place where he has made a long residence often finds that his departure involves him in a great deal of trouble, and is by no means an easy affair. Moreover, my situation when, after much delay, I was about to leave Kanó, was peculiarly embarrassing. There was no caravan; the road was infested by robbers; and I had only one servant upon whom I could rely, or who was really attached to me, while I had been so unwell the preceding day as to be unable to rise from my couch. However, I was full of confidence; and with the same delight with which a bird springs forth from its cage, I hastened to escape from these narrow, dirty mud-walls into the boundless creation.

There being scarcely any one to assist my faithful Gatróni, the loading of my three camels took an immense time, and the horseman destined to accompany me to the frontier of the Kanó territory grew rather impatient. At length, at about two o'clock in the afternoon, I mounted my unsightly black four dollar nag, and following my companion, who (in a showy dress, representing very nearly the German costume about the time of the Thirty Years' war, and well mounted) gave himself all possible airs of dignity, started forth from the narrow streets of Dalá into the open fields.

The quiet course of domestic slavery has very little to offend the mind of the traveller; the slave is generally well treated, is not over-worked, and is very often considered as a member of

the family. Scenes caused by the running away of a slave in consequence of bad and severe treatment occur every day with the Arabs, who generally sell their slaves, even those whom they have had some time, as soon as occasion offers; but with the natives they are very rare. However, I was surprised at observing so few home-born slaves in Negroland — with the exception of the Tawárek, who seem to take great pains to rear slaves—and I have come to the conclusion that marriage among domestic slaves is very little encouraged by the natives; indeed, I think myself justified in supposing that a slave is very rarely allowed to marry. This is an important circumstance in considering domestic slavery in Central Africa; for, if these domestic slaves do not of themselves maintain their numbers, then the deficiency arising from ordinary mortality must constantly be kept up by a new supply, which can only be obtained by kidnapping, or, more generally, by predatory incursions, and it is this necessity which makes even domestic slavery appear so baneful and pernicious. The motive for making these observations in this place was the sight of a band of slaves whom we met this morning, led on in two files, and fastened one to the other by a strong rope round the neck.

[Passing through Gezáwa, Daká, and Gérki, Dr. Barth reached Gúmmel, the frontier town of the empire of Bórnu, on the 13th of March. In this connection he says: —]

About two miles before we reached the frontier town of the Bórnu empire in this direction, we were joined by the horseman of the Governor of Gérki; and here we took leave of Háusa, with its fine and beautiful country, and its cheerful and industrious population. It is remarkable what a difference there is between the character of the ba-Háushe and the Kanúri — the former lively, spirited, and cheerful, the latter melancholic, dejected, and brutal; and the same difference is visible in their physiognomies — the former having in general very pleasant and regular features and more graceful forms, while the Kanúri, with his broad face, his wide nostrils, and his large bones, makes a far less agreeable impression, especially the women, who are very plain, and certainly among the ugliest

in all Negroland, notwithstanding their coquetry, in which they do not yield at all to the Háusa women.

[The following incident took place at Gúmmel.]

*Saturday, March 15th.* This was a most fortunate and lucky day for me; for suddenly, when I least expected it, I was visited by an Arab from Sókna of the name of Mohammed el Mughárbi, who had just arrived with a little caravan of Swákena from Múrzuk, and brought me a considerable number of letters from friends in Tripoli, England, and Germany, after my having been deprived of news from them for ten months. The letters gave me great delight; but, besides the letters, there was something with them which touched me more sensibly, by the providential way in which it supplied my most urgent wants.

I was extremely short of cash, and having spent almost my whole supply of shells in fitting up my quarters, paying my guides, and discharging Makhmúd, who had proved quite unfit for service, I had very little left wherewith to provide for our wants on our long journey to Kúkawa. How surprised and delighted was I, then, on opening Mr. Gagliuffi's letter, at the unexpected appearance of two Spanish dollars, which he forwarded to me in order to make good an error in my account with him. Two Spanish dollars! it was the only current money I had at that time; and they were certainly more valuable to me than so many hundreds of pounds at other times. However, the rascal who brought me the letters had also merchandise, on the account of the mission, to the value of one hundred pounds; but, either because he wished to deliver it to the director himself, or in order to obtain also the hire stipulated for him if he should be obliged to carry the merchandise on to Kúkawa, he declared that the things had gone on in advance to Kanó — an evident falsehood, which eventually caused us much unnecessary expense, and brought Mr. Overweg and myself into the greatest distress; for I did not, in fact, receive this merchandise till after my return from Adamáwa, having subsisted all the time upon "air and debts."

*Monday, March 17th.* Having taken a hearty leave of 'Abd

el Khafíf, I followed my camels and—my good luck. This was the first time on my journey that I travelled quite alone, and I felt very happy, though, of course, I should have been glad to have had one or two good servants.

[Passing through several towns of minor importance, Dr. Barth, attended only by two young native guides and his servants, reached Zurríkulo on the 23d of March. It was in the neighborhood of this place that he first heard of the death of Mr. Richardson, as related in the part of his journal which follows here.]

I had now entered Bórnu proper, the nucleus of that great Central African empire in its second stage, after Kánem had been given up. It is bordered toward the east by the great sea-like komádugu the Tsád or Tsáde, and toward the west and north-west by the little komádugu which by the members of the last expedition has been called Yéou, from the town of that name, or rather Yó, near which they first made its acquaintance on their way from Fezzán. I had now left behind me those loosely-attached principalities which still preserve some sort of independence, and henceforth had only to do with Bórnu officers.

Not feeling very well, I remained in my tent without paying my compliments to the officer here stationed, whose name is Kashélla S'aid, with whom I became acquainted on a later occasion; but the good man being informed by the people that a stranger from a great distance, who was going to visit his liege lord, had entered his town, sent his people to welcome me, and regaled me with several bowls of very good paste, with fresh fish, and a bowl of milk.

Zurríkulo was once a large town, and at the time of the inroad of Wadáÿ revolted from the sheikh, but was obliged to surrender to his brother 'Abd e' Rahmán. Since then it has gradually been decaying, and is now half deserted. The neighborhood of the town is full of wild animals; and great fear was entertained by my companions for our beasts, as we had no protection in our rear. The roaring of a lion was heard during the night.

*Monday, March 24th.* Next morning, when we resumed our march, the fan-palm for some time continued to be the prevailing tree; but some kukas also, or *Adansonia digitata,* and other more leafy trees began to appear, and after a while a thick underwood sprung up. Then followed a few scattered, I might say forlorn, date-trees, which looked like strangers in the country, transplanted into this region by some accident. The sky was clear; and I was leaning carelessly upon my little nag, musing on the original homes of all the plants which now adorn different countries, when I saw advancing toward us a strange-looking person of very fair complexion, richly dressed and armed, and accompanied by three men on horseback, likewise armed with musket and pistols. Seeing that he was a person of consequence, I rode quickly up to him and saluted him, when he, measuring me with his eyes, halted, and asked me whether I was the Christian who was expected to arrive from Kanó; and on my answering him in the affirmative, he told me distinctly that my fellow-traveller Yakúb (Mr. Richardson) had died before reaching Kúkawa, and that all his property had been seized. Looking him full in the face, I told him that this, if true, was serious news; and then he related some particulars, which left but little doubt as to the truth of his statement. When his name was asked, he called himself Ism'aíl; I learned, however, afterward, from other people, that he was the Sheríf el Habíb, a native of Morocco, and really of noble blood, a very learned but extremely passionate man, who, in consequence of a dispute with M'allem Mohammed, had been just driven out of Kúkawa by the Sheikh of Bórnu.

This sad intelligence deeply affected me, as it involved not only the life of an individual, but the whole fate of the mission; and though some room was left for doubt, yet, in the first moment of excitement, I resolved to leave my two young men behind with the camels, and to hurry on alone on horseback. But Mohammed would not hear of this proposal; and, indeed, as I certainly could not reach Kúkawa in less than four days, and as part of the road was greatly infested by the Tawárek, such an attempt might have exposed me to a great deal of in-

convenience. But we determined to go on as fast as the camels would allow us. We halted at eleven o'clock, shaded by the trunk of an immense leafless monkey-bread-tree, a little behind the walled place Kábi, the southern quarter of which is alone inhabited, and where our friends the Tébu had encamped. Starting, then, together with them at two o'clock in the afternoon, we took the road by Déffowa, leaving on our right that which passes Donári, the country now assuming a more hospitable and very peculiar character.

[Arriving at Bandégo on the 27th of March, Dr. Barth finds himself in the neighborhood of Mr. Richardson's grave.]

We were quietly pitching our tent on the east side of the village, and I was about to make myself comfortable, when I was not a little affected by learning that the girls who had been bringing little presents to the festival, and who were just returning in procession to their homes, belonged to Ngurútuwa, the very place where the Christian (Mr. Richardson) had died. I then determined to accompany them, though it was late, in order to have at least a short glimpse of the "white man's grave," and to see whether it were taken care of. If I had known before we unloaded the camels how near we were to the place, I should have gone there at once to spend the night.

Ngurútuwa, once a large and celebrated place, but at present somewhat in decay, lies in a wide and extensive plain, with very few trees, about two miles N.E. from Bandégo; but the town itself is well shaded, and has, besides kórna and bíto, some wide-spreading, umbrageous fig-trees, under one of which Mr. Richardson had been buried. His grave, well protected by thorn-bushes, appeared to have remained untouched, and was likely to remain so. The natives were well aware that it was a Christian who had died here, and they regarded the tomb with reverence. The story of his untimely end had caused some sensation in the neighborhood. He arrived in a weak state in the evening, and early the next morning he died. The people had taken great interest in the matter, and the report they gave me of the way in which he was buried agreed in the main circumstances with that which I afterwards received

The Dewan, or Public Square, in Kukáwa.

from his servants, and of which I forwarded an account from Kúkawa. Unfortunately, I had no means of bestowing gifts on the inhabitants of the place where my companion had died. I gave, however, a small present to a man who promised to take special care of the grave, and I afterward persuaded the Vizier of Bórnu to have a stronger fence made round it.

It was late in the evening when I returned to my tent, engrossed with reflections on my own probable fate, and sincerely thankful to the Almighty Ruler of all things for the excellent health which I still enjoyed, notwithstanding the many fatigues which I had undergone. My way of looking at things was not quite the same as that of my late companion, and we had therefore often had little differences; but I esteemed him highly for the deep sympathy which he felt for the sufferings of the native African, and deeply lamented his death. Full of confidence, I stretched myself upon my mat, and indulged in my simple supper, accompanied with a bowl of milk which the inhabitants of Bandégo had brought me.

[Passing through several unimportant villages, Dr. Barth, on the 1st of April, encamped in the immediate neighborhood of Kúkawa, the capital of the populous and rich empire of Bórnu.]

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## CHAPTER XI.

Arrival in Kúkawa—Settling with Mr. Richardson's servants—Visit to the Vizier and the Sheikh—Transactions about Mr. Richardson's property — Giving medicine — Character of the Vizier — He supplies Dr. Barth with money—The Sheikh gives him a horse—Description of A'gades—The Markets—The Great Fair—The People of A'gades—The Women.

*Wednesday, April 2d.* This was to be a most momentous day of my travels; for I was to reach that place which was the first distinct object of our mission, and I was to come into contact with those people on whose ill or good will depended the whole success of our mission.

Although encamped late at night, we were again up at an early hour. We met a troop of tugúrchi, who informed us that none of the villages along our track at the present moment had a supply of water, not even the considerable village Kangáruwa, but that at the never-failing well of Beshér I should be able to water my horse. This news only served to confirm me in my resolution to ride on in advance, in order as well to water my poor beast before the greatest heat of the day, as to reach the residence in good time.

I therefore took leave of my two young servants, and, giving Mohammed strict orders to follow me with the camels as fast as possible, I hastened on. The wooded level became now interrupted from time to time by bare naked concavities or shallow hollows, consisting of black sedimentary soil, where, during the rainy season, the water collects, and, drying up gradually, leaves a most fertile sediment for the cultivation of the másakwá. This is a peculiar kind of holcus (*Holcus cernuus*), which forms a very important article in the agriculture of Bórnu. Sown soon after the end of the rainy season, it grows up entirely by the fructifying power of the soil, and ripens with the assistance only of the abundant dews, which fall here usually in the months following the rainy season. These hollows, which are the most characteristic natural feature in the whole country, and which encompass the southwestern corner of the great lagune of Central Africa throughout a distance of more than sixty miles from its present shore, are called "ghadír" by the Arabs, "fírki" or "ánge" by the Kanúri. Indeed, they amply testify to the far greater extent of the lagoon in the ante-historical times.

Pushing on, and passing several villages, I reached about noon Beshér, a group of villages scattered over the corn-fields, where numerous horsemen of the sheikh were quartered; and, being unable myself to find the well, I made a bargain with one of the people to water my horse, for which he exacted from me forty "kúngona" or cowries. However, when I had squatted down for a moment's rest in the shade of a small talha-tree, his wife, who had been looking on, began to reprove

him for driving so hard a bargain with a young, inexperienced stranger; and then she brought me a little tiggra and curdled milk diluted with water, and afterward some ngáji or paste of sorghum.

Having thus recruited my strength, I continued my march; but my horse, not having fared so well, was nearly exhausted. The heat was intense, and therefore we proceeded but slowly till I reached Kálilwá, when I began seriously to reflect on my situation, which was very peculiar. I was now approaching the residence of the chief whom the mission, of which I had the honor to form part, was especially sent out to salute—in a very poor plight, without resources of any kind, and left entirely by myself, owing to the death of the director. I was close to this place, a large town, and was about to enter it without a single companion. The heat being just at its highest, no living being was to be seen either in the village or on the road; and I hesitated a moment, considering whether it would not be better to wait here for my camels. But my timid reluctance being confounded by the thought that my people might be far behind, and that, if I waited for them, we should find no quarters prepared for us, I spurred on my nag, and soon reached the western border of Kúkawa.

Proceeding with some hesitation toward the white clay wall which encircles the town, and which, from a little distance, could scarcely be distinguished from the adjoining ground, I entered the gate, being gazed at by a number of people collected here, and who were still more surprised when I inquired for the residence of the sheikh. Then, passing the little daily market (the dyrríya), which was crowded with people, I rode along the déndal, or promenade, straight up to the palace, which borders the promenade toward the east. It is flanked by a very indifferent mosque, built likewise of clay, with a tower at its N. W. corner, while houses of grandees inclose the place on the north and south sides. The only ornament of this place is a fine chédia or caoutchouc-tree in front of the house of 'Ali Ladán, on the south side; but occasionally it becomes enlivened by interesting groups of Arabs and native

courtiers in all the finery of their dress and of their richly-caparisoned horses.

The sheikh, though he usually resides in his palace in the eastern town, was at present here; and the slaves stared at me, without understanding, or caring to understand, what I wanted, until Díggama, the store-keeper, was called, who, knowing something of me as 'Abd el Kerím, ordered a slave to conduct me to the vizier. Though I had heard some account of the sheikh living out of the western town, I was rather taken by surprise at seeing the large extent of the double town, and I was equally astonished at the number of gorgeously-dressed horsemen whom I met on my way.

Considering my circumstances, I could not have chosen a more favorable moment for arriving. About two hundred horsemen were assembled before the house of the vizier, who was just about to mount his horse in order to pay his daily visit to the sheikh. When he came out, he saluted me in a very cheerful way, and was highly delighted when he heard and saw that I had come quite alone. He told me that he had known me already from the letter which I had sent to his agent in Zínder, stating that I would come after I had finished my business, but not before. While he himself rode in great state to the sheikh, he ordered one of his people to show me my quarters. These were closely adjoining the vizier's house, consisting of two immense court-yards, the more secluded of which inclosed, besides a half-finished clay dwelling, a very spacious and neatly-built hut. This, as I was told, had been expressly prepared for the mission before it was known that we were without means.

I had scarcely taken possession of my quarters when I received several visits from various parties attached to the mission, who all at once made me quite *au fait* of all the circumstances of my not very enviable situation as one of its surviving members. The first person who called upon me was Ibrahím, the carpenter, who, at Mr. Richardson's request, had been sent up from Tripoli, at the monthly salary of twenty mahbúbs, besides a sum of four dollars for his maintenance. He was

certainly a handsome young man, about twenty-two years of age, a native of the "holy house" (Bét el mogaddus) or Jerusalem, with big sounding phrases in his mouth, and quite satisfied to return with me directly to Fezzán without having done anything. Then came his more experienced and cheerful companion, 'Abd e' Rahmán, a real sailor, who was not so loud in his clamors, but urged more distinctly the payment of his salary, which was equal to that of Ibrahím.

After I had consoled these dear friends, and assured them that I had no idea at present of returning northward, and that I should do my best to find the means of satisfying the most urgent of their claims, there arrived another of the bloodsuckers of the mission, and the most thirsty of them all. It was my colleague, the bibulous Yusuf, son of Mukni, the former governor of Fezzán, accompanied by Mohammed ben Bu-S'ad, whom Mr. Richardson, when he discharged Yusuf in Zínder, had taken into his service in his stead, and by Mohammed ben Habíb, the least serviceable of Mr. Richardson's former servants. Yusuf was mounted upon a fine horse, and most splendidly dressed; but he was extremely gracious and condescending, as he entertained the hope that my boxes and bags, which had just arrived with my faithful Gatróni, were full of shells, and that I should be able to pay his salary at once. He was greatly puzzled when I informed him of my extreme poverty. Mr. Richardson's other servants, to my great regret, had gone off the day before, unpaid as they were, in order to regain their various homes.

I now ascertained that the pay due to Mr. Richardson's servants amounted to more than three hundred dollars; besides which there was the indefinite debt of the Sfáksi, amounting in reality to twelve hundred and seventy dollars, but which, by the form in which the bill had been given, might easily be doubled. I did not possess a single dollar, a single bernús, nor anything of value, and, moreover, was informed by my friends that I should be expected to make both to the sheikh and to the vizier a handsome present of my own. I now saw also that what the Sherif el Habíb had told me on the road

(viz., that all Mr. Richardson's things had been divided and squandered) was not altogether untrue. At least, they had been deposited with the vizier on very uncertain conditions, or rather had been delivered up to him by the two interpreters of our late companion, intimating to him that I and Mr. Overweg were quite subordinate people attached to the mission, and that we had no right to interfere in the matter.

Seeing how matters stood, I thought it best, in order to put a stop to the intrigues which had been set a going, to take Mohammed ben S'ad into my service on the same salary which he had received from Mr. Richardson. Besides, I pledged my word to all that they should each receive what was due to him, only regretting that the rest of Mr. Richardson's people had already gone away.

After all these communications, fraught with oppressive anxiety, I received a most splendid supper as well from the sheikh as from the vizier, and, after the varied exertions of the day, enjoyed a quiet night's rest in my clean cottage.

Thus strengthened, I went the next morning to pay my respects to the vizier, taking with me a small present of my own, the principal attractions of which lay in a thick twisted lace of silk, of very handsome workmanship, which I had had made in Tripoli, and a leathern letter-case of red color, which I had brought with me from Europe. Destitute as I was of any means, and not quite sure as yet whether her Britannic majesty's government would authorize me to carry out the objects of the mission, I did not deem it expedient to assume too much importance, but simply told the vizier that, though the director of the mission had not been fortunate enough to convey to him and the sheikh with his own mouth the sentiments of the British government, yet I hoped that, even in this respect, these endeavors would not be quite in vain, although at the present moment our means were so exhausted that, even for executing our scientific plans, we were entirely dependent on their kindness.

The same reserve I maintained in my interview with the sheikh on the morning of Friday, when I laid little stress upon

the object of our mission (to obtain security of commerce for English merchants), thinking it better to leave this to time, but otherwise dwelling upon the friendship established between the sheikh's father and the English, and representing to them that, relying upon this manifestation of their friendly disposition, we had come without reserve to live awhile among them, and under their protection, and with their assistance, to obtain an insight into this part of the world, which appeared so strange in our eyes. Our conversation was quite free from constraint or reserve, as nobody was present besides the sheikh and the vizier.

I found the sheikh ('Omár, the eldest son of Mohammed el Amín el Kánemy) a very simple, benevolent, and even cheerful man. He has regular and agreeable features, rather a little too round to be expressive; but he is remarkably black—a real glossy black, such as is rarely seen in Bórnu, and which he has inherited undoubtedly from his mother, a Bagirmaye princess. He was very simply dressed in a light tobe, having a bernús negligently wrapped round his shoulder; round his head a dark red shawl was twisted with great care; and his face was quite uncovered, which surprised me not a little, as his father used to cover it in the Tawárek fashion. He was reclining upon a divan covered with a carpet, at the back of a fine, airy hall, neatly polished.

My presents were very small, the only valuable article among them being a nice little copy of the Kurán, which on a former occasion I had bought in Egypt for five pounds sterling, and was now carrying with me for my own use. That I made a present of this book to the prince may perhaps be regarded with an unfavorable eye by some persons in this country; but let them consider it as a sign of an unprejudiced mind, and of the very high esteem in which he held me, that, although knowing me to be a Christian, he did not refuse to accept from my hands that which was most holy in his eyes. On the whole, I could not have expected a more friendly reception, either from the sheikh or from his vizier. But there was a very delicate

point which I was obliged to touch upon: what was to become of Mr. Richardson's property?

In the afternoon I went again to the vizier, and requested to see the inventory of all that my late companion had left, and he showed it to me and read it himself. He then ordered the box to be opened, which contained clothes and papers; and I was glad to see that not only the journals, upon the keeping of which Mr. Richardson had bestowed great care, but also all his other collectanea, were safe. Having taken the inventory with me, I sent Mohammed the following day to him with the request that Mr. Richardson's property should be delivered to me. Having been desired to call myself at noon, I went, but was surprised to find only Lamíno (properly El Amín), the vizier's confidential officer, of whom I shall have occasion to speak hereafter. I was still more surprised when only some of Mr. Richardson's boxes were brought in, and I was desired to select what I wanted, and leave the rest behind. This I refused to do, and asked where the other things were, when Lamíno did not hesitate to declare that the ornamented gun and the handsome pair of pistols had been sold. Upon hearing this, though I had been treated very kindly and hospitably on my arrival, and had received immense quantities of provisions of every kind, I could not refrain from declaring that if in truth they had behaved so unscrupulously with other people's property, I had nothing more to do here, and returned to my quarters immediately.

My firmness had its desired effect; and late in the evening I received a message from the vizier, that if I wanted to have a private interview with him I might come now, as during the daytime he was always troubled by the presence of a great many people. The person who brought me this message was Háj Edris, a man of whom, in the course of my proceedings, I shall have to speak repeatedly. Satisfied with having an opportunity of conversing with the vizier without reserve, I followed the messenger immediately, and found Háj Beshír quite alone, sitting in an inner court of his house, with two small wax candles by his side. We then had a long interview,

which lasted till midnight, and the result of which was that I protested formally against the sale of those things left by Mr. Richardson, and insisted that all should be delivered to myself and to Mr. Overweg as soon as he should arrive, when we would present to the sheikh and to the vizier, in a formal manner, all those articles which we knew our companion had intended to give to them. Besides, I urged once more the necessity of forwarding the news of Mr. Richardson's death, and of my safe arrival, as soon as possible, as, after our late misfortunes in Aïr, her Britannic Majesty's government, as well as our friends, would be most anxious about our safety I likewise tried to persuade my benevolent and intelligent host that he might do a great service to the mission if he would enable us to carry out part of our scientific purposes without delay, as government would certainly not fail to honor us with their confidence if they saw that we were going on. Having carried all my points, and being promised protection and assistance to the widest extent, I indulged in a more friendly chat, and, delighted by the social character of my host, and full of the most confident hopes for my future proceedings, withdrew a little after midnight.

Having in this way vindicated the honorable character of the mission and my own, I applied myself with more cheerfulness to my studies and inquiries, for which I found ample opportunity; for many distinguished personages from distant countries were staying here at this time, partly on their journey to and from Mekka, partly only attracted by the fame of the vizier's hospitable and bounteous character.

[Among the persons of distinction with whom Dr. Barth became acquainted, in Kúkawa, was Pullo Ibrahím, son of the sheikh el Muhktan, in Kukaida on the Senegal, of whom he relates the following curious anecdote.]

As an example of the risks which European travellers may incur by giving medicines to natives to administer to themselves at home, I will relate the following incident. Ibrahím told me one day that he wanted some cooling medicine, and I gave him two strong doses of Epsom salts, to use occasionally.

He then complained the following day that he was suffering from worms; and when I told him that the Epsom salts would not have the effect of curing this complaint, but that worm-powder would, he begged me to give him some of the latter; and I gave him three doses, to use on three successive days. However, my poor friend, though an intelligent man, thought that it might not be amiss to take all this medicine at once, viz., four ounces of Epsom salts and six drachms of worm-powder; and the reader may imagine the effect which this dose produced upon a rather slender man. Unfortunately, I had just taken a ride out of the town; and he remained for full two days in a most desperate state, while his friends, who had sent in vain to my house to obtain my assistance, were lamenting to all the people that the Christian had killed their companion, the pious pilgrim.

[The most important acquaintance of Dr. Barth, in Kúkawa, was the vizier, whom he thus describes.]

I must principally dwell upon my relations to the vizier El Háj Beshír ben Ahmed Tiráb, upon whose benevolent disposition the whole success of the mission depended, as he ruled entirely the mind of the sheikh, who was more sparing of words, and less intelligent.

Mohammed el Beshír, being the son of the most influential man in Bórnu after the sheikh, enjoyed all the advantages which such a position could offer for the cultivation of his mind, which was by nature of a superior cast. He had gone on a pilgrimage to Mekka in the year 1843, by way of Ben-Gházi, when he had an opportunity both of showing the Arabs near the coast that the inhabitants of the interior of the continent are superior to the beasts, and of getting a glimpse of a higher state of civilization than he had been able to observe in his own country.

Having thus learned to survey the world collectively from a new point of view, and with an increased eagerness after everything foreign and marvellous, he returned to his native country, where he soon had an opportunity of proving his talent, his father being slain in the unfortunate battle of Kúsuri, and

Sheikh 'Omár, a fugitive in his native country, having much need of a faithful counsellor in his embarrassed situation. The sheikh was beset by a powerful and victorious host, encamping in the largest of the towns of his kingdom, while the party of the old dynasty was rising again, and not only withdrawing from him the best forces wherewith to face the enemy, but threatening his very existence, at the same time that a brother was standing in fierce rivalry to him at the head of a numerous army. Sheikh 'Omár was successful, the host of Wadáy was obliged to withdraw, and, abandoning the purpose for which they had come, namely, that of re-establishing the old dynasty, commenced a difficult retreat of many hundred miles at the beginning of the rainy season; the partisans of the old dynasty were entirely crushed, the last prince of that family slain, the residence of the sultans levelled to the ground, and even remembrance of the old times was almost effaced. There remained to be feared only his brother 'Abd e' Rahmán. 'Abd e' Rahmán was a good soldier, but a man of very loose and violent character. When a youth he had committed all sorts of violence and injustice, carrying off young brides by force to indulge his passions; he was, besides, a man of little intelligence. Being but a few months younger than 'Omar, he thought himself equally entitled to the succession; and if once admitted into a high position in the empire, he might be expected to abuse his influence on the very first opportunity.

Sheikh 'Omár, therefore, could not but choose to confide rather in the intelligent son of his old minister, the faithful companion in the field and counsellor of his father, than in his own fierce and jealous brother; and all depended upon the behavior of Háj Beshír, and upon the discretion with which he should occupy and maintain his place as first, or rather only minister of the kingdom. Assuredly his policy should have been to conciliate, as much as possible, all the greater "kokanáwa" or courtiers, in order to undermine the influence of 'Abd e' Rahmán, whom it might be wise to keep at a respectful distance. But in this respect the vizier seems to have made great mistakes, his covetousness blinding him to his principal

advantages; for covetous he certainly was—first, from the love of possessing, and also in order to indulge his luxurious disposition, for he was certainly rather "kamúma," that is to say, extremely fond of the fair sex, and had a harím of from three to four hundred female slaves.

In assembling this immense number of female companions for the entertainment of his leisure hours, he adopted a scientific principle; in fact, a credulous person might suppose that he regarded his harím only from a scientific point of view, as a sort of ethnological museum, doubtless of a peculiarly interesting kind, which he had brought together in order to impress upon his memory the distinguishing features of each tribe. I have often observed that, in speaking with him of the different tribes of Negroland, he was at times struck with the novelty of a name, lamenting that he had not yet had a specimen of that tribe in his harím, and giving orders at once to his servants to endeavor to procure a perfect sample of the missing kind. I remember, also, that on showing to him one day an illustrated ethnological work in which he took a lively interest, and coming to a beautiful picture of a Circassian female, he told me, with an expression of undisguised satisfaction, that he had a living specimen of that kind; and when, forgetting the laws of Mohammedan etiquette, I was so indiscreet as to ask him whether she was as handsome as the picture, he answered only with a smile, at once punishing and pardoning my indiscreet question. I must also say that, notwithstanding the great number and variety of the women who shared his attention, he seemed to take a hearty interest in each of them; at least I remember that he grieved most sincerely for the loss of one who died in the winter of 1851. Poor Háj Beshír! He was put to death in the last month of 1853, leaving seventy-three sons alive, not counting the daughters, and the numbers of children which may be supposed to die in such an establishment without reaching maturity.

But to return to his political character. I said that he neglected to attach to himself the more powerful of the courtiers, with whose assistance he might have hoped to keep the

rival brother of Sheikh 'Omár at some distance; indeed, he even alienated them by occasional, and sometimes injudicious use of his almost unlimited power, obliging them, for instance, to resign to him a handsome female slave or a fine horse. If he had possessed great personal courage and active powers, he might have mastered circumstances and kept his post, notwithstanding the ill-will of all around him; but he wanted those qualities, as the result shows; and yet, well aware of the danger which threatened him, he was always on his guard, having sundry loaded pistols and carbines always around him, upon and under his carpet. Shortly before I arrived, an arrow had been shot at him in the evening while he was sitting in his court-yard.

I have peculiar reason to thank Providence for having averted the storm which was gathering over his head during my stay in Bórnu, for my intimacy with him might very easily have involved me also in the calamities which befell him. However, I repeat that, altogether, he was a most excellent, kind, liberal, and just man, and might have done much good to the country if he had been less selfish and more active. He was incapable, indeed, of executing by himself any act of severity, such as in the unsettled state of a semi-barbarous kingdom may at times be necessary; and, being conscious of his own mildness, he left all those matters to a man named Lamíno, to whom I gave the title of "the shameless left hand of the vizier," and whom I shall have frequent occasion to mention.

I pressed upon the vizier the necessity of defending the northern frontier of Bórnu against the Tawárek by more effectual measures than had been then adopted, and thus retrieving, for cultivation and the peaceable abode of his fellow-subjects, the fine borders of the komádugu, and restoring security to the road to Fezzán. Just about this time the Tawárek had made another expedition into the border districts on a large scale, so that Kashélla Belál, the first of the war-chiefs, was obliged to march against them; and the road to Kanó, which I, with my usual good luck, had passed unmolested, had

become so unsafe that a numerous caravan was plundered, and a well-known Arab merchant, the Sheríf el Ghâli, killed.

I remonstrated with him on the shamefully-neglected state of the shores of the lake, which contained the finest pasture-grounds, and might yield an immense quantity of rice and cotton. He entered with spirit into all my proposals, but in a short time all was forgotten. He listened with delight to what little historical knowledge I had of these countries, and inquired particularly whether Kánem had really been in former times a mighty kingdom, or whether it would be worth retaking. It was in consequence of these conversations that he began to take an interest in the former history of the country, and that the historical records of Edrís Alawóma came to light; but he would not allow me to take them into my hands, and I could only read over his shoulders. He was a very religious man; and though he admired Europeans very much on account of their greater accomplishments, he was shocked to think that they drank intoxicating liquors. However, I tried to console him by telling him that, although the Europeans were also very partial to the fair sex, yet they did not indulge in this luxury on so large a scale as he did, and that therefore he ought to allow them some other little pleasure.

He was very well aware of the misery connected with the slave-trade; for, on his pilgrimage to Mekka, in the mountainous region between Fezzán and Ben-Gházi, he had lost, in one night, forty of his slaves by the extreme cold, and he swore that he would never take slaves for sale if he were to travel again. But it was more difficult to make him sensible of the horrors of slave-hunting, although, when accompanying him on the expedition to Músgu, I and Mr. Overweg urged this subject with more success, as the further progress of my narrative will show. He was very desirous to open a commerce with the English, although he looked with extreme suspicion upon the form of articles in which the treaty was proposed to be drawn up; but he wished to forbid to Christians the sale of two things, viz., spirituous liquors and Bibles. He did not object to Bibles being brought into the country, and even given

as presents, but he would not allow of their being sold. But the difficulties which I had to contend with in getting the treaty signed will be made more conspicuous as my narrative proceeds.

The most pressing matter which I had with the vizier in the first instance, after my arrival, was to obtain some money, in order to settle, at least partly, the just claims of the late Mr. Richardson's servants, and to clear off debts which reflected little credit on the government which had sent us. I could scarcely expect that he would lend me the money without any profit, and was therefore glad to obtain it at the rate of 1000 cowries, or kúngona as they are called in Bórnu, for a dollar, to be paid in Fezzán; and I lost very little by the bargain, as the creditors, well aware of the great difficulty I was in, and acknowledging my desire to pay them off, agreed to receive for every dollar of the sum which they claimed only 1280 cowries, while in the market the dollar fetched a much higher price. Indeed, it was most grateful to my feelings to be enabled, on the 13th of April, to distribute among the eight creditors 70,000 shells; and it was the more agreeable, as the more arrogant among them, seeing my extreme poverty, had assumed a tone of great insolence toward me, which I found it difficult to support in silence. Being now relieved a little in circumstances, I immediately rid myself of the carpenter, the grandiloquent Son of Jerusalem, and sent him away. He died on the road before reaching Múrzuk—a fact which the natives attributed to the curse which I had given him for having stolen something from my house.

My household now became more comfortable. Already, on the 10th of April, late in the evening, I had removed my quarters from the large empty court-yard in the eastern town, or billa gedíbe, to a small clay house in the western, or billa futébe.

This dwelling consisted of several small but neatly-made rooms, and a yard. Afterward we succeeded in obtaining in addition an adjoining yard, which was very spacious, and included several thatched huts; and all this together formed

"the English house," which the sheikh was kind enough to concede to the English mission as long as anybody should be left there to take care of it.

My poor Kátsena nag, the present of the extraordinary governor of that place, almost against my expectation, had successfully carried me as far as Kúkawa; but at that point it was quite exhausted, wanting at least some months' repose. I was therefore without a horse, and was obliged at first to walk on foot, which was very trying in the deep sand and hot weather. I had once entreated the vizier to lend me a horse, but Lamíno had, in consequence, sent me such a miserable animal that I declined mounting it. The sheikh, being informed afterward that I was bargaining for a horse, sent me one as a present; it was tall and well-formed, but of a color which I did not like, and very lean, having just come from the country, where it had got no corn, so that it was unfit for me, as I wanted a strong animal, ready to undergo a great deal of fatigue. I was already preparing for my journey to Adámawa, and, having made the acquaintance of M'allem Katúri, a native of Yákoba, or, rather, as the town is generally called, Garún Báuchi, and an excellent man, who had accompanied several great ghazzias in that country, I hired him, and bought for his use a good travelling horse. I bought, also, a tolerable pony for my servant Mohammed ben S'ad, so that, having now three horses at my command, I entered with spirit upon my new career as an explorer of Negroland. All this, of course, was done by contracting a few little debts.

Having now a horse whereon to mount, I rode every day, either into the eastern town to pay a visit to the sheikh or to the vizier, or roving around the whole circuit of the capital, and peeping into the varied scenes which the life of the people exhibited. The precincts of the town, with its suburbs, are just as interesting, as its neighborhood (especially during the months that precede the rainy season) is monotonous and tiresome in the extreme. Certainly the arrangement of the capital contributes a great deal to the variety of the picture which it forms, laid out as it is, in two distinct towns, each surrounded

with its wall, the one occupied chiefly by the rich and wealthy, containing very large establishments, while the other, with the exception of the principal thoroughfare, which traverses the town from west to east, consists of rather crowded dwellings, with narrow, winding lanes. These two distinct towns are separated by a space about half a mile broad, itself thickly inhabited on both sides of a wide, open road, which forms the connection between them, but laid out less regularly, and presenting to the eye a most interesting medley of large clay buildings and small thatched huts, of massive clay walls surrounding immense yards, and light fences of reeds in a more or less advanced state of decay, and with a variety of color, according to their age, from the brightest yellow down to the deepest black. All around these two towns there are small villages or clusters of huts, and large detached farms surrounded with clay walls, low enough to allow a glimpse from horseback over the thatched huts which they inclose.

In this labyrinth of dwellings a man, interested in the many forms which human life presents, may rove about at any time of the day with the certainty of never-failing amusement, although the life of the Kanúri people passes rather monotonously along, with the exception of some occasional feasting. During the hot hours, indeed, the town and its precincts become torpid, except on market-days, when the market-place itself, at least, and the road leading to it from the western gate, are most animated just at that time. For, singular, as it is, in Kúkawa, as well as almost all over this part of Negroland, the great markets do not begin to be well attended till the heat of the day grows intense; and it is curious to observe what a difference prevails in this, as well as in other respects, between these countries and Yóruba, where almost all the markets are held in the cool of the evening.

The daily little markets, or durríya, even in Kúkawa, are held in the afternoon. The most important of these durríyas is that held inside the west gate of the billa futébe, and here even camels, horses, and oxen are sold in considerable numbers; but they are much inferior to the large fair, or great

market, which is held every Monday on the open ground beyond the two villages which lie at a short distance from the western gate.

I visited the great fair, "kásukú letenínbe," every Monday immediately after my arrival, and found it very interesting, as it calls together the inhabitants of all the eastern parts of Bórnu, the Shúwa and the Koyám, with their corn and butter; the former, though of Arab origin, and still preserving in purity his ancient character, always carrying his merchandise on the back of oxen, the women mounted upon the top of it, while the African Koyám employs the camel; the Kánembu with their butter and dried fish, the inhabitants of Mákari with their tobes; even Búdduma, or rather Yédiná, are very often seen in the market, selling whips made from the skin of the hippopotamus, or sometimes even hippopotamus meat, or dried fish, and attract the attention of the speculator by their slender figures, their small, handsome features, unimpaired by any incisions, the men generally wearing a short black shirt and a small straw hat, "súní ngáwa," their neck adorned with several strings of kúngona or shells, while the women are profusely ornamented with strings of glass beads, and wear their hair in a very remarkable way, though not in so awkward a fashion as Mr. Overweg afterward observed in the island Belárigo.

On reaching the market-place from the town, the visitor first comes to that part where the various materials for constructing the light dwellings of the country are sold, such as mats; poles and stakes; the framework for the thatched roofs of huts, and the ridge-beam; then oxen for slaughter, or for carrying burdens; farther on, long rows of leathern bags filled with corn, ranging far along on the south side of the market-place. These long rows are animated not only by the groups of the sellers and buyers, with their weatherworn figures and torn dresses, but also by the beasts of burden, mostly oxen, which have brought the loads, and which are to carry back their masters to their distant dwelling-places; then follow the camels for sale, often as many as a hundred or more, and numbers of horses, but generally not first-rate ones, which are mostly sold

in private. All this sale of horses, camels, &c., with the exception of the oxen, passes through the hands of the broker, who, according to the mode of announcement, takes his percentage from the buyer or the seller.

The fatigue which people have to undergo in purchasing their week's necessaries in the market is all the more harassing, as there is not at present any standard money for buying and selling; for the ancient standard of the country, viz., the pound of copper, has long since fallen into disuse, though the name, "rotl," still remains. The "gábagá," or cotton strips, which then became usual, have lately begun to be supplanted by the cowries or "kúngona," which have been introduced, as it seems, rather by a speculation of the ruling people than by a natural want of the inhabitants, though nobody can deny that they are very useful for buying small articles, and infinitely more convenient than cotton strips. Eight cowries or kúngona are reckoned equal to one gábagá, and four gábagá, or two-and-thirty kúngona, to one rotl. Then, for buying larger objects, there are shirts of all kinds and sizes, from the "dóra," the coarsest and smallest one, quite unfit for use, and worth six rotls, up to the large ones, worth fifty or sixty rotls. But, while this is a standard value, the relation of the rotl and the Austrian dollar, which is pretty well current in Bórnu, is subject to extreme fluctuation, due, I must confess, at least partly, to the speculations of the ruling men, and principally to that of my friend the Háj Beshír. Indeed, I cannot defend him against the reproach of having speculated to the great detriment of the public; so that when he had collected a great amount of kúngona, and wished to give it currency, the dollar would suddenly fall as low as to five-and-forty or fifty rotls, while at other times it would fetch as much as one hundred rotls, or three thousand two hundred shells, that is, seven hundred shells more than in Kanó. The great advantage of the market in Kanó is that there is one standard coin, which, if a too large amount of dollars be not on a sudden set in circulation, will always preserve the same value.

But to return to the picture of life which the town of Kúka-

wa presents. With the exception of Mondays, when just during the hottest hours of the day there is much crowd and bustle in the market-place, it is very dull from about noon till three o'clock in the afternoon; and even during the rest of the day those scenes of industry which in the varied panorama of Kanó meet the eye are here sought for in vain. Instead of those numerous dyeing-yards or máriná, full of life and bustle, though certainly also productive of much filth and foul odors, which spread over the town of Kanó, there is only a single and a very poor máriná in Kúkawa; no beating of tobes is heard, nor the sound of any other handicraft.

There is a great difference of character between these two towns; and the Bórnu people are by temperament far more phlegmatic than those of Kanó. The women in general are much more ugly, with square, short figures, large heads, and broad noses with immense nostrils, disfigured still more by the enormity of a red bead or coral worn in the nostrils. Nevertheless, they are certainly quite as coquettish, and, as far as I had occasion to observe, at least as wanton also as the more cheerful and sprightly Háusa women. I have never seen a Háusa woman strolling about the streets with her gown trailing after her on the ground, the fashion of the women of Kúkawa, and wearing on her shoulders some Manchester print of a showy pattern, keeping the ends of it in her hands, while she throws her arms about in a coquettish manner. In a word, their dress, as well as their demeanor, is far more decent and agreeable. The best part in the dress or ornaments of the Bórnu women is the silver ornament which they wear on the back of the head, and which in taller figures, when the hair is plaited in the form of a helmet, is very becoming; but it is not every woman who can afford such an ornament, and many a one sacrifices her better interests for this decoration.

The most animated quarter of the two towns is the great thoroughfare, which, proceeding by the southern side of the palace in the western town, traverses it from west to east, and leads straight to the skeikh's residence in the eastern town. This is the "dendal" or promenade, a locality which has its

imitation, on a less or greater scale, in every town of the country. This road, during the whole day, is crowded by numbers of people on horseback and on foot; free men and slaves, foreigners as well as natives, every one in his best attire, to pay his respects to the sheikh or his vizier, to deliver an errand, or to sue for justice or employment, or a present. I myself very often went along this well-trodden path — this high road of ambition; but I generally went at an unusual hour, either at sunrise in the morning, or while the heat of the midday, not yet abated, detained the people in their cool haunts, or late at night, when the people were already retiring to rest, or, sitting before their houses, beguiling their leisure hours with amusing tales or with petty scandal. At such hours I was sure to find the vizier or the sheikh alone; but sometimes they wished me also to visit and sit with them, when they were accessible to all the people; and on these occasions the vizier took pride and delight in conversing with me about matters of science, such as the motion of the earth, or the planetary system, or subjects of that kind.

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## CHAPTER XII.

Visit to Lake Tsád. — Description of its appearance. — Pirates of the Tsád. — Dr. Barth sends his servant off with letters. — Arrival of Dr. Overweg. — Mr. Richardson's property delivered to Dr. Barth and Dr. Overweg.

My stay in the town was agreeably interrupted by an excursion to Ngórnu and the shores of the lake.

*Thursday, April 24th.* Sheikh 'Omár, with his whole court, left Kúkawa in the night of the 23d of April, in order to spend a day or two in Ngórnu, where he had a tolerably good house; and, having been invited by the vizier to go there, I also followed on the morning of the next day.

[This first attempt to reach Lake Tsád was unsuccessful.]

Having returned to the town, I related to the vizier my unsuccessful excursion in search of the Tsád, and he obligingly promised to send some horsemen to conduct me along the shore as far as Káwa, whence I should return to the capital.

*Saturday, April 20th.* The sheikh, with his court, having left Ngórnu before the dawn of day on his return to Kúkawa, I sent back my camel, with my two men also, by the direct road; and then, having waited awhile in vain for the promised escort, I went myself with Bu-S'ad to look after it, but succeeded only in obtaining two horsemen, one of whom was the Kashélla Kótoko, an amiable, quiet Kánemma chief, who ever afterward remained my friend, and the other a horse-guard of the sheikh's, of the name of Sále. With these companions we set out on our excursion, going northeast; for due east from the town, as I now learned, the lagoon was at present at more than ten miles' distance. The fine grassy plain seemed to extend to a boundless distance, uninterrupted by a single tree, or even a shrub; not a living creature was to be seen, and the sun began already to throw a fiery veil over all around, making the vicinity of the cooling element desirable. After a little more than half an hour's ride we reached swampy ground, and began to make our way through the water, often up to our knees on horseback. We thus came to the margin of a fine open sheet of water, encompassed with papyrus and tall reed, of from ten to fourteen feet in height. This creek was called "Ngíruwá."

Then turning a little more to the north, and passing still through deep water full of grass, and most fatiguing for the horses, we reached another creek, called "Dímbebér." Here I was so fortunate as to see two small boats, or "mákara," of the Búdduma, as they are called by the Kanúri, or Yédiná, as they call themselves, the famous pirates of the Tsád.* They were small flat boats, made of the light and narrow wood of the "fógo," about twelve feet long, and managed by two men

* [These pirates live on an island of the lake, maintain their independence, and carry on war against the surrounding tribes.—Ed.]

each: as soon as the men saw us, they pushed their boats off from the shore. They were evidently in search of human prey.

We then continued our watery march. The sun was by this time very powerful; but a very gentle cooling breeze came over the lagoon, and made the heat supportable. We had water enough to quench our thirst — indeed, more than we really wanted; for we might have often drunk with our mouth, by stooping down a little, on horseback, so deeply were we immersed. But the water was exceedingly warm, and full of vegetable matter. It is perfectly fresh, as fresh as water can be. It seems to have been merely from prejudice that people in Europe have come to the conclusion that this Central African basin must either have an outlet or must be salt; for I can positively assert that it has no outlet, and that its water is perfectly fresh.

While we rode along these marshy, luxuriant plains, large herds of "kelára" started up, bounding over the rushes, and, sometimes swimming, at others running, soon disappeared in the distance. This is a peculiar kind of antelope, which I have nowhere seen but in the immediate vicinity of the lake. In color and size it resembles the roe, and has a white belly.

Proceeding onward, we reached, about noon, another creek, which is used occasionally by the Búdduma as a harbor, and is called "Ngúlbeá." We, however, found it empty, and only inhabited by ngurútus or river-horses, which, indeed, live here in great numbers, snorting about in every direction, and by two species of crocodiles. In this quarter there are no elephants, for the very simple reason that they have no place of retreat during the night; for this immense animal (at least in Africa) appears to be very sensible of the convenience of a soft couch in the sand, and of the inconvenience of mosquitoes too; wherefore it prefers to lie down on a spot a little elevated above the swampy ground, whither it resorts for its daily food. On the banks of the northern part of the Tsád, on the contrary, where a range of low sand-hills and wood encompasses the lagoon, we meet with immense herds of this animal.

Ngúlbeá was the easternmost point of our excursion; and,

turning here a little west from north, we continued our march over drier pasture-grounds, placed beyond the reach of the inundation, and after about three miles reached the deeply-indented and well-protected creek called "Ngómarén." Here I was most agreeably surprised by the sight of eleven boats of the Yédiná. Large, indeed, they were, considering the ship-building of these islanders; but otherwise they looked very small and awkward, and, resting quite flat on the water, strikingly reminded me of theatrical exhibitions in which boats are introduced on the stage. They were not more than about twenty feet long, but seemed tolerably broad; and one of them contained as many as eleven people, besides a good quantity of natron and other things. They had a very low waist, but rather a high and pointed prow. They are made of the narrow boards of the fógo-tree, which are fastened together with ropes from the dúm-palm, the holes being stopped with bast.

We now rode on to another creek called Méllelá, whence we turned westward, and in about an hour, partly through water, partly over a grassy plain, reached Maduwári.

Maduwári, at that time, was an empty sound for me—a name without a meaning, just like the names of so many other places at which I had touched on my wanderings; but it was a name about to become important in the history of the expedition, to which many a serious remembrance was to be attached. Maduwári was to contain another white man's grave, and thus to rank with Ngurútuwa.

When I first entered the place from the side of the lake, it made a very agreeable impression upon me, as it showed evident signs of ease and comfort, and, instead of being closely packed together, as most of the towns and villages of the Kanúri are, it lay dispersed in eleven or twelve separate clusters of huts, shaded by a rich profusion of korna and bito-trees. I was conducted by my companion, Kashélla Kótoko, to the house of Fúgo 'Ali. It was the house wherein Mr. Overweg, a year and a half later, was to expire; while Fúgo 'Ali himself, the man who first contracted friendship with me, then conducted my companion on his interesting navigation

*Kúlukemé, the open water of the Tsád.*

round the islands of the lake, and who frequented our house, was destined to fall a sacrifice in the revolution of 1854. How different was my reception then, when I first went to his house on this my first excursion to the lake, and when I revisited it with Mr. Vogel in the beginning of 1855, when Fúgo 'Ali's widow was sobbing at my side, lamenting the ravages of time, the death of my companion, and that of her own husband.

The village pleased me so much that I took a long walk through it before I sat down to rest; and after being treated most sumptuously with fowls and a roasted sheep, I passed the evening very agreeably in conversation with my black friends.

They gave me the first account of the islands of the lake, stating that the open water, which in their language is called "Kalilémma," or rather Kúlukemé, begins one day's voyage from Káya, the small harbor of Maduwári, stretching in the direction of Sháwi, and that the water is thenceforth from one to two fathoms deep. I invariably understood from all the people with whom I spoke about this interesting lake, that the open water, with its islands of elevated sandy downs, stretches from the mouth of the Sháry toward the western shore, and that all the rest of the lake consists of swampy meadow-lands, occasionally inundated.

*Sunday, April 27th.* Before sunrise we were again in the saddle, accompanied by Fúgu or Púfo 'Ali, who had his double pair of small drums with him, and looked well on his stately horse.

We now left Maduwári, and after a little while passed another village called Dógoji, when we came to a large hamlet or "berí" of Kánembú cattle-breeders, who had the care of almost all the cattle of the villages along the shores of the lake, which is very credibly reported to amount together to eleven thousand head.

Having here indulged in a copious draught of fresh milk, we resumed our march, turning to the eastward; and, having passed through deep water, we reached the creek "Kógorám," surrounded by a dense belt of tall rushes of various kinds. We were just about to leave this gulf, when we were joined by

Zíntelma, another Kánemma chief, who ever afterward remained attached to myself and Mr. Overweg, with five horsemen. Our troop having thus increased, we went on cheerfully to another creek called Tábirám, whence we galloped toward Bolé, trying in vain to overtake a troop of antelopes, which rushed headlong into the water and disappeared in the jungle. Before, however, we could get to this latter place, we had to pass very deep water, which covered my saddle, though I was mounted on a tall horse, and swamped altogether my poor Bú-S'ad on his pony; nothing but his head and his gun were to be seen for a time. But it was worth while to reach the spot which we thus attained at the widest creek of the lake as yet seen by me — a fine, open sheet of water, the surface of which, agitated by a light east wind, threw its waves upon the shore. All around was one forest of reeds of every description, while the water itself was covered with water-plants, chiefly the water-lily, or *Nymphœa lotus*. Numberless flocks of water-fowl of every description played about. The creek has an angular form, and its recess, which makes a deep indentation from E. 30° N. to W. 30° S., is named Nghélle.

Passing over fields planted with cotton and beans, but without native corn, which is not raised here at all, we reached Káwa after an hour's ride, while we passed on our left a small swamp. Káwa is a large, straggling village. What to me seemed the most interesting objects were the splendid trees adorning the place. The sycamore under which our party was desired to rest in the house of Fúgo 'Ali's sister was most magnificent, and afforded the most agreeable resting-place possible, the space overshadowed by the crown of the tree being enclosed with a separate fence, as the "fágé" or place of meeting. Here we were feasted with water mixed with pounded argúm, sour milk, and meat, and then continued our march to Kúkawa, where we arrived just as the vizier was mounting on horseback to go to the sheikh. Galloping up to him, we paid him our respects, and he expressed himself well pleased with me. My companions told him that we had been swimming about in the lake for the last two days, and that I had written

down everything. The whole cavalcade, consisting of eight horsemen, then accompanied me to my house, where I gave them a treat.

I returned just in time from my excursion, for the next day the caravan for Fezzán encamped outside the town, and I had to send off two of my men with it. One of them was the carpenter Ibrahím, a handsome young man, but utterly unfit for work, of whom I was extremely glad to get rid; the other was Mohammed el Gatróni, my faithful servant from Múrzuk, whom I dismissed with heartfelt sorrow. He had a very small salary, and I therefore promised to give him four Spanish dollars a month, and to mount him on horseback, but it was all in vain; he was anxious to see his wife and children again, after which he promised to come back. I therefore, like the generals of ancient Rome, gave him leave of absence—"pueris procreandis daret operam."

On the other side, it was well worth a sacrifice to send a trustworthy man to Fezzán. The expedition had lost its director, who alone was authorized to act in the name of the government which had sent us out; we had no means whatever, but considerable debts, and, without immediate aid by fresh supplies, the surviving members could do no better than to return home as soon as possible. Moreover, there were Mr. Richardson's private things to be forwarded, and particularly his journal, which, from the beginning of the journey down to the very last days of his life, he had kept with great care—more fortunate he, and more provident in this respect than my other companion, who laughed at me when, during moments of leisure, I finished the notes which I had briefly written down during the march, and who contended that nothing could be done in this respect till after a happy return home. I therefore provided Mohammed, upon whose discretion and fidelity I could entirely rely, with a camel, and entrusted to him all Mr. Richardson's things and my parcel of letters, which he was to forward by the courier, who is generally sent on by the caravan after its arrival in the Tébu country.

There were two respectable men with the caravan, Háj Ha-

san, a man belonging to the family of El Kánemi, and in whose company Mr. Vogel afterward travelled from Fezzán to Bórnu, and Mohammed Titíwi. On the second of May, therefore, I went to pay a visit to these men, but found only Titíwi, to whom I recommended my servant. He promised to render him all needful assistance. I had but little intercourse with this man, yet this little occurred on important occasions, and so his name has become a pleasant remembrance to me. I first met him when sending off the literary remains of my unfortunate companion. I at the same time ventured to introduce myself to her majesty's government, and to try if it would so far rely upon me, a foreigner, as to intrust me with the further direction of the expedition, and to ask for means; it was then Titíwi again who brought me the most honorable dispatches from the British government, authorizing me to carry out the expedition just as it had been intended, and at the same time means for doing so. It was Titíwi who, on the day when I was leaving Kúkawa on my long, adventurous journey to Timbúktu, came to my house to wish me success in my arduous undertaking; and it was Titíwi again who, on the second of August, 1855, came to the consul's house in Tripoli to congratulate me on my successful return from the interior.

In the afternoon of the fifth of May we had the first unmistakable token of the rainy season—a few heavy claps of thunder followed by rain. But I did not tarry; the very same day I bought in the market all that was necessary for my journey, and the next day succeeded in purchasing a very handsome and strong gray horse, "kerí bul," for twelve hundred and seventy rotls, equal at that moment to two-and-thirty Austrian dollars, while I sold my weak horse which the sheikh had given me for nine hundred rotls, or twenty-two dollars and a half.

Having also bought an Arab saddle, I felt myself quite a match for anybody, and hearing in the afternoon that the sheikh had gone to Gawánge, a place two miles and a half east from the town toward the lake, I mounted my new steed, and setting off at a gallop, posted myself before the palace just when 'Omár was about to come out with the flourishing of the trum-

pets, sounding the Háusa word "gashí, gashí," "here he is, here he is." The sheikh was very handsomely dressed in a fine white bernús, over another of light blue color, and very well mounted on a fine black horse, "fir kéra." He was accompanied by several of his and the vizier's courtiers, and about two hundred horsemen, who were partly riding by his side, partly galloping on in advance and returning again to the rear, while sixty slaves, wearing red jackets over their shirts, and armed with matchlocks, ran in front of and behind his horse. The vizier, who saw me first, saluted me very kindly, and sent Hámza Weled el Góni to take me to the sheikh, who made a halt, and asked me very graciously how I was going on, and how my excursion to the lake had amused me. Having then taken notice of my sprightly horse, the vizier called my servant, and expressed his regret that the horse which they had presented to me had not proved good, saying that I ought to have informed them, when they would have given me a better one. I promised to do so another time, and did not forget the warning.

*Wednesday, May 7th.* Mr. Overweg arrived. He looked greatly fatigued and much worse than when I left him, four months ago, at Tasáwa; indeed, as he told me, he had been very sickly in Zínder — so sickly that he had been much afraid lest he should soon follow Mr. Richardson to the grave. Perhaps the news which he just then heard of our companion's death made him more uneasy about his own illness. However, we were glad to meet him alive, and expressed our hopes to be able to do a good deal for the exploration of these countries.

Mr. Overweg was, in some respects, very badly off, having no clothes with him but those which he actually wore, all his luggage being still in Kanó, though he had sent two men to fetch it. I was therefore obliged to lend him my own things, and he took up his quarters in another part of our house, though it was rather small for our joint establishment. The vizier was very glad of his arrival, and, in fulfilment of his engagement to deliver all the things left by Mr. Richardson as

soon as Mr. Overweg should arrive, he sent all the half-empty boxes of our late companion in the evening of the next day; even the gun and pistols, and the other things which had been sold, were returned, with the single exception of Mr. Richardson's watch, which, as the sheikh was very fond of it, and kept it near him night and day, I thought it prudent to spare him the mortification of returning.

Mr. Overweg and I, having then made a selection from the articles that remained to us, presented to the vizier, on the morning of the 9th, those destined for him, and in the afternoon we presented the sheikh with his share.

We now spoke also about the treaty, the negotiation of which, we said, had been specially intrusted to our companion, but now, by his death, had devolved on us. Both of them assured us of their ardent desire to open commercial intercourse with the English, but at the same time they did not conceal that their principal object in so doing was to obtain firearms. They also expressed their desire that two of their people might return with us to England, in order to see the country and its industry, which we told them we were convinced would be most agreeable to the British government. Our conversation was so unreserved and friendly, that the sheikh himself took the opportunity of excusing himself for having appropriated Mr. Richardson's watch.

The much-desired moment of my departure for Adamáwa drew nearer and nearer. The delay of my starting on this undertaking, occasioned by the late arrival of Mr. Overweg, had been attended with the great advantage that, meanwhile, some messengers of the governor of that country had arrived, in whose company, as they were returning immediately, I was able to undertake the journey with a much better prospect of success. The subject of their message was that Kashélla 'Alí Ladán, on his late predatory incursion into the Marghí country, had enslaved and carried away inhabitants of several places to which the Governor of Adamáwa laid claim, and it was more in order to establish his right than from any real concern in the fate of these unfortunate creatures that he was

pleased to lay great stress upon the case. Indeed, as the sequel shows, his letter must have contained some rather harsh or threatening expressions, to which the ruler of Bórnu was not inclined to give way, though he yielded * to the justice of the specific claim. At first these messengers from Adamáwa were to be my only companions besides my own servants, and on the 21st of May I was officially placed under their protection, in the house of the sheikh, and the messengers promised to see me safe to their country, and to provide for my safe return.

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* I will here give verbatim a few extracts of my dispatch to government, dated Kúkawa, May 24, 1851, from which it will be seen how sure I was already at that time of the immense importance of the river which I was about to discover.

"My Lord — I have the honor to inform your lordship that, on Tuesday next, I am to start for Adamáwa, as it is called by the Fellátah (Fullan), or Fúmbiná, a very extensive country, whose capital, Yóla, is distant from here fifteen days S.S.W., situated on *a very considerable river* called Fáro, which, joining another river not less considerable, and likewise navigable, called Bénuwé, falls into the Kwára, or Niger, at a place between Kakanda and Adda, not more than a few days distant from the mouth of that celebrated river." "My undertaking seemed to me the more worthy, *as it has long been the intention of the government to explore that country;* for orders had been given to the Niger expedition to turn aside, if possible, from the course of that river, and to reach Bórnu by a southern road, which, it was presumed, might be effected partly or entirely by water, &c. As for my part, I can at present certify, with the greatest confidence, that there is *no connection whatever between those two rivers*, the Chadda, which is identical with the Bénuwé on the one, and the Shári, the principal tributary of Lake Tsád, on the other side. Nevertheless, the Fáro as well as the Bénuwé seem to have their sources to the E. of the meridian of Kúkawa; and the river formed by these two branches being navigable for larger boats into the very heart of Adamáwa, there will be *a great facility for Europeans to enter that country* after it shall have been sufficiently explored." After speaking of the northern road into the interior by way of Bílma, I concluded with these words:

"By-and-by, I am sure *a southern road will be opened* into the heart of Central Africa, but the time has not yet come."

## CHAPTER XIII.

Dr. Barth sets out for Adamáwa — He reaches the confluence of the Bénuwé and Fáro — His visit to Yóla, the capital of Adamáwa — His short residence there — His dismissal — His return to Kúkawa.

After much delay, and having twice taken official leave of the sheikh in full state, I had at length the pleasure of seeing our little band ready for starting in the afternoon of Thursday, the 29th of May, 1851. Rather more, I think, with a view to his own interest than from any apprehension on my account, the sheikh informed me, in the last interview which I had with him, that he would send an officer along with me. This move puzzled me from the beginning, and caused me some misgiving; and there is not the least doubt, as the sequel will show, that to the company of this officer it must be attributed that I was sent back by Mohammed Láwl, the Governor of Adamáwa, without being allowed to stay any time in the country; but, for truth's sake, I must admit that if I had not been accompanied by this man it is doubtful whether I should have been able to overcome the very great difficulties and dangers which obstruct this road.

*Thursday, May 29th.* At four o'clock in the afternoon I left the southern gate of Kúkawa, on my adventurous journey to Adamáwa. My little troop was not yet all collected; for, being extremely poor at the time, or rather worse than poor, as I had nothing but considerable debts, I had cherished the hope that I should be able to carry all my luggage on one camel; but when the things were all packed up — provisions, cooking utensils, tent, and a few presents — I saw that the one weak animal which I had was not enough, and bought another of Mr. Overweg, which had first to be fetched from the pasture-ground. I therefore left two servants and my old expe-

rienced Háusa warrior, the M'allem Katúri, whom I had expressly hired for this journey, behind me in the town, in order to follow us in the night with the other camel.

Mr. Overweg, attended by a spirited little fellow named 'Ali, a native of Ghát, who had brought his luggage from Kanó, accompanied me. But the most conspicuous person in our troop was Bíllama, the officer whom the sheikh had appointed to accompany me, a tall, handsome Bórnu man, mounted on a most splendid gray horse of great size and of a very quick pace. He had two servants with him, besides a man of Malá Ibrám, likewise mounted on horseback, who was to accompany us as far as the Marghí country. The messengers from Adamáwa, as we proceeded onward, gradually collected together from the hamlets about, where they had been waiting for us, and the spearmen among them saluted me by raising their spears just in my face, and beating their small, round hippopotamus shields; Mohámmedu was armed with a sword and bow and arrows.

As soon as I had left the town behind me, and saw that I was fairly embarked in my undertaking, I indulged in the most pleasant feelings. I had been cherishing the plan of penetrating into those unknown countries to the south for so long a time, that I felt the utmost gratification in being at length able to carry out my design. At that time I even cherished the hope that I might succeed in reaching Báya, and thus extend my inquiries as far as the equator; but my first design was, and had always been, to decide by ocular evidence the question with regard to the direction and the tributaries of the great river which flowed through the country in the south.

Leaving the Ngórnu road to our left, we reached the village Kárba at sunset.

*Friday, May 30th.* At an early hour we were ready to resume our march, not having even pitched a tent during the night.

After only four hours' march we halted near the village Pírtwa, as Mr. Overweg was now to return, and as I wished my other people to come up. Having long tried in vain to

buy some provisions with our "kúngona" or shells, Mr.* Overweg at length succeeded in purchasing a goat with his servant's shirt. This article, even if much worn, is always regarded as ready money in the whole of Negroland, and as long as a man has a shirt he is sure not to starve. Afterward, the inhabitants of the village brought us several bowls of "birrhi," or porridge of Negro corn, and we employed ourselves in drinking coffee and eating till it was time for Mr. Overweg to depart, when we separated with the most hearty wishes for the success of each other's enterprise; for we had already fully discussed his undertaking to navigate the lagoon in the English boat.

We then started at a later hour, and, following a more westerly path, took up our night's quarters at Dy'nnamarí, the village of Dy'nnama or A'made.

Continuing our march in the afternoon, after the heat had decreased, we passed, after about four miles, the first encampment of Shúwa, or berí Shúwabe, which I had yet seen in the country. Shúwa is a generic name, denoting all the Arabs (or rather eastern Arabs) settled in Bórnu, and forming a component part of the population of the country; in Bagírmi they are called Shíwa. No Arab from the coast is ever denoted by this name, but his title is Wásirí or Wásilí.

[Pursuing his route without any incidents of special interest, Dr. Barth reached Uba, the frontier town of Adamáwa, on the 10th of June, and eight days afterwards he reached the Bénuwé river, one of the most cherished objects of this journey to Adamáwa.]

*Wednesday, June 18th.* At an early hour we left the inhospitable place of Sulléri. It was a beautiful fresh morning, all nature being revived and enlivened by the last night's storm. My companions, sullen and irritated, quarrelled among themselves. As for myself, I was cheerful in the extreme, and borne away by an enthusiastic and triumphant feeling, for to-day I was to see the river.

The neighborhood of the water was first indicated by num-

* [Overweg was a physician, and is always called Dr. in Mr. Richardson's journal.—Ed.]

bers of high ant-hills, which, as I shall have occasion to observe more fully in the course of my narrative, abound chiefly in the neighborhood of rivers: they were here ranged in almost parallel lines, and afforded a very curious spectacle. We had just passed a small village or rúmde, where not a living soul was to be seen, the people having all gone forth to the labors of the field, when the lively Mohámmedu came running up to me, and exclaimed "Gashí, gashí, dútsi-n-Alantíka ké nan" ("Look! look! that is Mount Alantíka"). I strained my eyes, and saw, at a great distance to the S. W., a large but insulated mountain mass, rising abruptly on the east side, and forming a more gradual slope toward the west, while it exhibited a rather smooth and broad top, which certainly must be spacious, as it contains the estates of seven independent pagan chiefs. Judging from the distance, which was pretty well known to me, I estimated the height of the mountain at about eight thousand feet of absolute elevation; but it may be somewhat less.

Here there was still cultivated ground, exhibiting at present the finest crop of masr, called "bútalí" by the Fúlbe of A'damáwa; but a little farther on we entered upon a swampy plain (the savannas of A'damáwa), overgrown with tall rank grass, and broken by many large hollows full of water, so that we were obliged to proceed with great caution. This whole plain is annually (two month's later) entirely under water. However, in the middle of it, on a little rising ground, which looks as if it were an artificial mound, lies a small village, the abode of the ferryman of the Bénuwé, from whence the boys came running after us — slender, well-built lads, accustomed to fatigue, and strengthened by daily bathing; the younger ones quite naked, the elder having a leathern apron girt round their loins. A quarter of an hour afterward we stood on the bank of the Bénuwé.

It happens but rarely that a traveller does not feel disappointed when he first actually beholds the principal features of a new country, of which his imagination has composed a picture, from the description of the natives; but, although I must admit that the shape and size of the Alantíka, as it rose in rounded

lines from the flat level, did not exactly correspond with the idea which I had formed of it, the appearance of the river far exceeded my most lively expectations. None of my informants had promised me that I should just come upon it at that most interesting locality — the Tépe — where the mightier river is joined by another of very considerable size, and that in this place I was to cross it. My arrival at this point was a most fortunate circumstance. As I looked from the bank over the scene before me, I was quite enchanted, although the whole country bore the character of a desolate wilderness; but there could scarcely be any great traces of human industry near the river, as during its floods it inundates the whole country on both sides. This is the general character of all the great rivers in these regions, except where they are encompassed by very steep banks.

The principal river, the Bénuwé, flowed here from east to west, in a broad and majestic course, through an entirely open country, from which only here and there detached mountains started forth. The banks on our side rose to twenty-five, and in some places to thirty feet, while just opposite to my station, behind a pointed headland of sand, the Fáro rushed forth, appearing from this point not much inferior to the principal river, and coming in a fine sweep from the southeast, where it disappeared in the plain, but was traced by me, in thought, upward to the steep eastern foot of the Alantíka. The river, below the junction, keeping the direction of the principal branch, but making a slight bend to the north, ran along the northern foot of Mount Bágelé, and was there lost to the eye, but was followed in thought through the mountainous region of the Báchama and Zína to Hamárruwa, and thence along the industrious country Korórofa, till it joined the great western river, the Kwára or Niger, and, conjointly with it, ran toward the great ocean.

On the northern side of the river another detached mountain, Mount Taife, rose, and behind it the Bengo, with which Mount Fúro seemed connected, stretching out in a long line toward the northwest. The bank upon which we stood was entirely

bare of trees, with the exception of a solitary and poor acacia, about one hundred paces farther up the river, while on the opposite shore, along the Fáro and below the junction, some fine clusters of trees were faintly seen.

I looked long and silently upon the stream; it was one of the happiest moments in my life. Born on the bank of a large navigable river, in a commercial place of great energy and life, I had from my childhood a great predilection for river scenery; and although plunged for many years in the too exclusive study of antiquity, I never lost this native instinct. As soon as I left home, and became the independent master of my actions, I began to combine travel with study, and to study while travelling, it being my greatest delight to trace running waters from their sources, and to see them grow into brooks, to follow the brooks and see them become rivers, till they at last disappeared in the all-devouring ocean. I had wandered all around the Mediterranean, with its many gulfs, its beautiful peninsulas, its fertile islands — not hurried along by steam, but slowly wandering from place to place, following the traces of the settlements of the Greeks and Romans around this beautiful basin, once their *terra incognita*. And thus, when entering upon the adventurous career in which I subsequently engaged, it had been the object of my most lively desire to throw light upon the natural arteries and hydrographical network of the unknown regions of Central Africa. The great eastern branch of the Niger was the foremost to occupy my attention; and, although for some time uncertain as to the identity of the river of A'damáwa with that laid down in its lower course by Messrs. W. Allen, Laird, and Oldfield, I had long made up my mind on this point, thanks to the clear information received from my friend Ahmed bel Mejúb. I had now with my own eyes, clearly established the direction and nature of this mighty river, and to an unprejudiced mind there could no longer be any doubt that this river joins the majestic water-course explored by the gentlemen just mentioned.* Hence I cherish the

* That this river is anywhere called Chádda, or even Tsádda, I doubt very much; and I am surprised that the members of the late expedition

well-founded conviction that along this natural high road European influence and commerce will penetrate into the very heart of the continent, and abolish slavery, or, rather, those infamous slave-hunts and religious wars, destroying the natural germs of human happiness which are spontaneously developed in the simple life of the pagans, and spreading devastation and desolation all around.

We descended toward the place of embarkation, which, at this season of the year, changes every week, or even more frequently. At present it was at the mouth of a small, deeply-worn channel or dry water-course, descending from the swampy meadow-grounds toward the river, and filled with tall reed-grass and bushes. Here was the poor little naval arsenal of the Tépe, consisting of three canoes, two in good repair, and a third one in a state of decay and unfit for service.

It was now that for the first time I saw these rude little shells, hollowed out of a single trunk — for the boats of the Búdduma are more artificial, being made of a number of boards joined together; and I soon began to eye these frail canoes with rather an anxious feeling, as I was about to trust myself and all my property to what seemed to offer very inadequate means of crossing with safety a large and deep river. They measured from twenty-five to thirty feet in length, and only from a foot to a foot and a half in height, and sixteen inches in width, and one of them was so crooked that I could scarcely imagine how it could stem the strong current of the river.

On the river itself two canoes were plying, but, notwithstanding our repeated hallooing and firing, the canoemen would not come to our side of the river; perhaps they were afraid. Roving about along the bushy water-course, I found an old canoe, which, being made of two very large trunks joined together, had been incomparably more comfortable and spacious than the canoes now in use, although the joints, being made with cordage, just like the stitching of a shirt, and without

in the "Pleiad" do not say a word on this point. I think the name Chádda was a mere mistake of Lander's, confirmed by Allen, owing to their fancying it an outlet of Lake Tsád.

pitching the holes, which were only stuffed with grass, necessarily allowed the water to penetrate continually into the boat. It, however, had the great advantage of not breaking if it ran upon a rock, being in a certain degree, pliable. It was about thirty-five feet long, and twenty-six inches wide in the middle; but it was now out of repair, and was lying upside down.

The canoemen still delaying to come, I could not resist the temptation of taking a river-bath, a luxury which I had not enjoyed since bathing in the Eurymedon. The river is full of crocodiles, but there could be little danger from these animals after all our firing and the constant noise of so many people. I had not yet arrived at the conviction that river-bathing is not good for a European in a tropical climate; but this was the first and last time that I bathed voluntarily, with a single exception; for, when navigating the river of Logón on a fine day in March, 1852, I could not help jumping overboard, and on my return from Bagírmi, in August, 1853, I was obliged to do it.

The bed of the river, after the first foot and a half, sloped down very gradually, so that at the distance of thirty yards from the shore I had not more than three feet and a half of water, but then it suddenly became deep. The current was so strong that I was unable to stem it; but my original strength, I must allow, was at the time already greatly reduced. The only advantage which I derived from this feat was that of learning that the river carries gold with it; for the people, as often as I dipped under water, cried out that I was searching for this metal, and when I came out of the water, were persuaded that I had obtained plenty of it. However, the river was already too full for investigating this matter further.

At length a canoe arrived, the largest of the two that were actually employed, and a long bargaining commenced with the eldest of the canoemen, a rather short and well-set lad. Of course, as the chief of the caravan, I had to pay for all; and there being three camels and five horses to be carried over, it was certainly a difficult business. It cannot, therefore, be regarded as a proof of exorbitant demands that I had to pay

five "dóras," a sum which in Kúkawa would buy two oxen loads of Indian corn. I allowed all the people to go before me, in order to prevent the canoemen from exacting something more from them.

There was considerable difficulty with my large camel-bags, which were far too large for the canoes, and which several times were in danger of being upset; for they were so unsteady that the people were obliged to kneel down on the bottom, and keep their equilibrium by holding with both hands on the sides of the boat. Fortunately, I had laid my tent-poles at the bottom of the canoe, so that the water did not reach the luggage. The horses, as they crossed, swimming by the sides of the canoe, had to undergo great fatigue; but desperate was the struggle of the camels, which were too obstinate to be guided by the frail vessels, and had to be pushed through alone, and could only be moved by the most severe beating. At length they were induced to cross the channel, the current carrying them down to a great distance, and our whole party arrived safe on the sandy beach of the headland, where there was not a bit of shade. This whole headland for two or three months every year is covered with water, although its chief part, which was overgrown with tall reed-grass, was at present about fifteen feet above the surface.

The river, where we crossed it, was, at the very least, eight hundred yards broad, and in its channel generally eleven feet deep, and was liable to rise, under *ordinary* circumstances, at least thirty, or even at times fifty feet higher. Its upper course at that time was known to me, as far as the town of Géwe on the road to Logón; but farther on I had only heard from the natives that it came from the south, or rather from the S. S. E.

It was a quarter before one o'clock when we left the beach in order to cross the second river, the Fáro, which is stated to come from Mount Lábul, about seven days' march to the south. It was at present about six hundred yards broad, but generally not exceeding two feet in depth, although almost all my informants had stated to me that the Fáro was the principal river.

The current of the Fáro was extremely violent, far more so than that of the Bénuwé, approaching, in my estimation, a rate of about five miles, while I would rate the former at about three and a half miles an hour, the current of the Fáro plainly indicating that the mountainous region whence it issued was at no great distance. In order to avoid the strongest part of the current, which swept along the southern shore, we kept close to a small island, which, however, at present could still be reached from this side with dry feet. We then entered upon low meadow-land, overgrown with tall-reed grass, which a month later is entirely inundated to such a depth that only the crowns of the tallest trees are seen rising above the water, of which they bore unmistakable traces, the highest line thus marked being about fifty feet above the present level of the river; for of course the inundation does not always reach the same height, but varies according to the greater or less abundance of the rains. The information of my companions, as well as the evident marks on the ground, left not the least doubt about the immense rise of these rivers.

On leaving the outer bank of the river our way led through a fine park-like plain, dotted with a few mimosas of middling size, and clear of underwood. The sides of the path were strewn with skeletons of horses, marking the line followed by the late expedition of the Governor of Yóla, on its return from Lére, or the Mbána country. Having then entered upon cultivated ground, we reached the first cluster of huts of the large, straggling village Chabajáure or Chabajáule, situated in a most fertile and slightly undulating tract, and, having kept along it for little less than a mile and a half, we took up our quarters in a solitary and secluded cluster of huts, including a very spacious court-yard.

*Thursday, June 19th.* We started early in the morning, continuing along the straggling hamlets and rich corn-fields of Chabajáule for a mile and a half, when we passed two slave-villages or "rúmde" belonging to a rich Púllo of the name of Hanúri. We passed the large village of Dulí, and, having

descended and reascended again, we obtained a most beautiful view near the village Gúroré, which lies on rising ground.

While marching along at a good pace, Mohámmedu walked up to me, and, with a certain feeling of pride, showed me his fields. Though a poor man, he was master of three slaves, a very small fortune in a conquered and newly-colonized country like A'damáwa, based entirely upon slavery, where many individuals have each more than a thousand slaves.

*Friday, June 20th.* We started early in order to reach the capital, if possible, before noon, and passed through several hamlets, all belonging to the extensive village or district of Ribágo, and interrupted here and there by projecting masses of schistose rock, while the concavity between this rising ground and Mount Bágelé was fast filling with the flood from the river, and presented already a considerable sheet of water. A little before noon, we reached the outskirts of the capital in a state of mind not exempt from anxious feeling.

At length I had reached the capital of A'damáwa, having had altogether a very lucky and successful journey; but now all depended upon the manner in which I should be received in this place: for, although it was quite enough to have successfully penetrated so far, after having discovered and crossed the upper course of that large river, about the identity of which with the Chadda there could be little doubt, I entertained the hope that I might be allowed to penetrate further south, and investigate at least part of the basin of the river. I had heard so much about the fertile character of those regions, that I was intensely desirous to see something of them.

It was an unfavorable circumstance that we arrived on a Friday, and just during the heat of the day. The streets were almost deserted, and no person met us in order to impart to us, by a friendly welcome, a feeling of cheerfulness and confidence.

Yóla is a large open place, consisting, with a few exceptions, of conical huts surrounded by spacious court-yards, and even by corn-fields, the houses of the governor and those of his brothers being alone built of clay. Keeping along the principal

street, we continued our march for a mile and a quarter before we reached the house of the governor, which lies on the west side of a small open area, opposite the mosque, a flat oblong building, or rather hall, inclosed with clay walls, and covered with a flat thatched roof a little inclined on one side. Having reached this place, my companions fired a salute, which, considering the nature of Bíllama's mission, and the peculiar character of the governor, which this officer ought to have known, and perhaps also since it happened to be Friday, was not very judicious.

Be this as it may, the courtiers or attendants of the governor, attracted by the firing, came out one after another, and informed us that their master must go to the mosque and say his mid-day prayers before he could attend to us or assign us quarters. We therefore dismounted and sat down in the scanty shade of a jéja or caoutchouc tree, which adorns the place between the palace and the mosque, while a great number of people, amounting to several hundreds, gradually collected, all eager to salute me and shake hands with me. Fortunately, it was not long before Lowel came out from his palace and went into the mosque; and then I obtained a few moments' respite, the people all following him, with the exception of the young ones, who very luckily found the camels a worthier object of their curiosity than myself. It had been my intention to salute the governor when he was crossing the place, but I was advised not to do so, as it might interfere with his devotional feelings.

The prayer was short; and when it was over I was surrounded by much larger numbers than before, and, being fatigued and hungry, I felt greatly annoyed by the endless saluting and shaking of hands. At length we were ordered to take up our quarters in the house of Ardo Ghámmawa, a brother of our fellow-traveller Ibrahíma; but this being close to the east end of the town, we were not much pleased with the arrangement, as it not only obliged us for the moment to return the whole way we had come, but also, for the future, deprived us of an unreserved and friendly intercourse with the

governor. This was not calculated to inspire us with confidence as to the success of our proceedings.

It was past two o'clock in the afternoon when, at length, I reached my quarters and took possession of a large, well-ventilated, and neat "záure" or hall, the walls of which were all painted. In the inner court-yard there was also a very neat and snug little hut, but that was all, and we had great trouble in obtaining quarters for Bú-S'ad and the m'allem in some of the neighboring court-yards.

*Saturday, June* 21*st.* In the morning I selected my presents for the governor, the principal part of which consisted of a very handsome red cloth bernús, which we had found among the things left by the late Mr. Richardson; but when we were ready to go we received the information that Lowel was in his fields, and that we could not see him. I presented our host, the Ardo Ghámmawa, with a fine "elephant shirt"—that is to say, one of those enormous wide black shirts made only in Núpe, and which was one of the few articles which I had been able to provide in Kanó for the furtherance of my plans. The family of the Ardo had formerly been settled in Ghámmawa, in the south-western province of Bórnu, but, when the Fúlbe were driven back from that country, emigrated and settled here. But this man still bears the title "Ardo Ghámmawa"—the mayor of (the Fúlbe community of) Ghámmawa.

Having been told that the governor had returned to his palace, we mounted on horseback about ten o'clock, and, preceded by the Ardo Ghámmawa, returned the long way to the lamórde or palace; but, after waiting on the damp ground, exposed to the sun, for more than an hour, we were told that we could not see him, and were obliged to return with our present. I was greatly vexed, and felt, in consequence, my fever increasing, especially as another very heavy storm broke out in the afternoon, when the air became quite chilly.

*Sunday, June* 22*d.* In consequence of the information received from Ardo Ghámmawa that to-day we were certainly to see the governor, we got ready at an early hour, taking with us also a present for his brother Mansúr, who had made him-

self expressly a candidate for a present by sending me, the day before, a small pot of honey. While we were passing his house, he was coming out to pay his respects to his brother. We made a short halt, and exchanged compliments with him; and, when, on reaching the area before the governor's house, we had dismounted, and were sitting down in the shade of the tree, he walked most benignly and frankly up, and sat down in front of me. We then entered the palace; and having waited a short time in the segífa or záure, which here was formed by a spacious flat-roofed room, supported by massive square pillars, we were called into the presence of the governor.

Mohammed Lowel, son of M'allem A'dama, was sitting in a separate hall, built of clay, and forming, for this country, quite a noble mansion. From without, especially, it has a stately, castle-like appearance, while inside the hall was rather encroached upon by quadrangular pillars, two feet in diameter, which supported the roof, about sixteen feet high, and consisting of a rather heavy entablature of poles, in order to withstand the violence of the rains. The governor was very simply dressed, and had nothing remarkable in his appearance, while his face, which was half covered by a somewhat dirty shawl, had an indifferent expression. Besides him there was none present but Mansúr and a m'allem.

Having, as the first European that had ever visited his country with the distinct purpose to enter into friendly relations with him, paid him my respects on behalf of my countrymen, I delivered my letter of introduction from Sheikh 'Omár, who in a few but well-chosen lines introduced me to him as a learned and pious Christian, who wandered about to admire the works of the Almighty Creator, and on this account cherished an ardent desire to visit also A'damáwa, of the wonders of which I had heard so much. Lowel read it, and evidently not quite displeased with its contents, although he took umbrage at some of the expressions, handed it silently over to the m'allem and Mansúr. Hereupon Bíllama delivered his letters, of which not only the contents, but even the very existence had been totally unknown to me. They were three in number,

one from the sheikh himself, one from Malá Ibrám, the former possessor of the southern province of Bórnu, and one from Kashélla 'Ali Déndal, or Ladán, the officer who by his late predatory incursion had given grounds for complaint.

As soon as these various letters were read, all of which laid claim, on the side of Bórnu, to the territory of Kófa and Kóbchi, a storm arose, and in a fit of wrath Lowel reproached my companion with daring to come forward with such pretensions — he, who was himself well acquainted with the country and with the point in dispute. If Sheikh 'Omár wished for discord, well; he was ready, and they would harass each other's frontier provinces by reciprocal incursions. Having given vent to his feelings toward Billama, his anger turned upon me; and he told me to my face that I had quite different reasons for coming into his country from those stated in Sheikh 'Omár's letter; referring to some ambiguous words in Malá Ibrám's writing, in which that officer stated "that, with regard to me, the objects of my journey to A'damáwa were a perfect secret to him." Now I must confess, after all my acquaintance with the politics of these people, and notwithstanding all Háj Beshír's kindness and benevolence toward me, that I think the Bórnu diplomatists quite capable of a little double dealing; that is to say, I suspect that they were willing to make use of me to frighten the Governor of A'damáwa. Perhaps, also, they were afraid lest, if I should succeed in A'damáwa, I might not return to their country. Viewing matters in this light, I wrote from Kúkawa, requesting her majesty's government to inform the Sheikh of Bórnu that it was their distinct desire that we should penetrate onward, and that he would confer an obligation upon them by facilitating the execution of our plans.

Be this as it may, after a long dispute with regard to the boundaries, in which my friend from Mokha, and a learned native of Wadáy, Móde 'Abd Alláhi, who was employed by Lowel as a sort of secretary of state for foreign affairs, took part, I, with my party, was ordered to withdraw for a time. After sitting for full two hours on the damp ground outside,

we received an intimation that we might return home. Thus I had to return with my presents a second time to my quarters, and, of course, I was greatly vexed. However, several people who saw my emotion endeavored to console me; and Mansúr, who, before we left, came out of his brother's audience-hall, entered into conversation with me, and assured me that this unkind treatment in no way related to me, but that it was only intended for Bíllama, the officer of Bórnu. There was present also the very amiable m'allem whom I had met in Saráwu Fulfúlde, and who had come after us, and I felt sorry that I was not disposed to answer his well-meant discourse in the manner it deserved.

When we reached Mansúr's house he invited us to dismount, and, entering the interior of his wide and neat dwelling, we had a long and animated conversation, when I explained to him in a deliberate manner that such treatment did not offend me on my own account, but on account of the government — the very first and most powerful in the world — which had sent me; that, instead of coming with hostile intentions, as was imputed to me, I had come with the friendly design of paying my respects to the governor on behalf of the British sovereign, and to present him with a few specimens of our products and manufactures; that I had, no doubt, at the same time an intense desire to see their country, as it was the avowed purpose of Europeans in general, and of the English in particular, to become acquainted and to open intercourse with all parts of God's creation.

Mansúr explained to me, in return, that they well knew that I had not come to make war upon them, although Lowel, in the first fit of his anger, scarcely seemed to suspect anything less than that, "but that they were vexed because I had come to them under the protection of the Bórnu people, their enemies." A letter from the Sultan of Stambúl, or even from my own sovereign, would have recommended me much more advantageously. The sheikh had expressly designated me as one recommended and protected by the Porte, and Bú-S'ad had mentioned, with a slight disregard of the real facts, that

through inadvertence only I had left both letters, as well that from the Sultan of Stambúl as from the English sovereign, in Kúkawa. Now I certainly had with me a treaty written in Arabic, such as it was desirable that the Governor of A'damáwa should subscribe; but to produce this under existing circumstances would have been absurd, especially as it did not emanate directly from the government, and was not authenticated either by seal or in any other way, and I thought it better not to mention it. It was no bad policy on the part of Bú-S'ad to represent me as sent on a special mission by the British government to the Fúlbe princes, and as obliged only by the death of my companion to deviate from my intended course in order to supply his place in Kúkawa.

Monday having passed quietly, with the exception of a great many people calling for "laya" or charms, and for medicines, Tuesday, the 24th, arrived, when it was my destiny to leave this country, which I had but just entered, and to retrace my steps over the long and infested road which I had lately travelled.

I felt tolerably well in the morning, but afterward became very ill, and, unfortunately, took too weak a dose of medicine. In this state I had a visit from two very handsome and amiable young Fúlbe, and, in my rather morose mood, refused their urgent request, made in the most simple and confidential way, to say the "fat-ha," or the opening prayer of the Kurán, with them. I have always regretted my refusal, as it estranged from me a great many people; and, although many Christians will object to repeat the prayer of another creed, yet the use of a prayer of so general import as the introductory chapter to the Kurán ought to be permitted to every solitary traveller in these regions, in order to form a sort of conciliatory link between him and the natives.

After some other visitors had come and gone, I received, about ten o'clock, a formal visit from Móde 'Abd-Alláhi, the foreign secretary, and my friend from Mokha, in the name of the governor. Having moistened their organs with a cup of coffee, they acquitted themselves of their message in the follow-

ing terms: "The sultan"—all these provincial governors bear the title of sultan — "had ordered them," they said, "to beg me to accept his most respectful regards, and to inform me that he was nothing but a slave of the Sultan of Sókoto, and that I was a far greater man than himself. As such a man had never before come to his country, he was afraid of his liege lord, and begged me to retrace my steps whither I had come; but if, in course of time, I should return with a letter from Sókoto, he would receive me with open arms, would converse with me about all our science and about our instruments without reserve, and would show me the whole country,"

To this message, which was certainly couched in very modest and insinuating terms, I answered that Mohammed Lowel, so far from being a slave of the Sultan of Sókoto, was renowned far and wide as the almost independent governor of a large province; that the fame of his father A'dama, as a nobly-born, learned Púllo, extended far and wide throughout Tekrúr or Negroland, and had even reached our own country; that it was absurd to argue that I was greater than himself, and that on this account he could not receive me on his own responsibility, but was obliged to refer my suit to his liege lord in Sókoto. I brought forward the examples of Kátsena and Kanó, especially the latter place, in which, though it was the seat of a governor dependent on the Emír el Múmenín, in the same way as the Governor of A'damáwa, I had long resided, without any representations being made to the sovereign lord. "Oh! but the relations of Kátsena and Kanó," said the messengers of the governor, "are entirely different from those of this province. These are large and busy thoroughfares for all the world, while A'damáwa is a distant territory in the remotest corner of the earth, and still a fresh, unconsolidated conquest." There was certainly some truth in this last remark; and, whatever I might say to the contrary, the question was decided, and all reasoning was in vain.

The two messengers, having gone through their business in this way, informed me that they were only the forerunners of the real messenger, Mansúr, the brother of the governor. This

was very pleasant news to me; and although, after this shock of disappointment, I felt extremely ill and weak, I rose from my couch, and went to receive Mansúr when he arrived at the door of the hut. He then officially, and in a very feeling manner, confirmed all that Móde 'Abd-Alláhi and the sheríf Mohammed had said, and expressed his deep regret that I was not allowed to stay. When he was going I handed to his servants the little presents destined for him, which consisted of twenty-five dr'a of striped Manchester, a pair of English razors, scissors, a looking-glass, a parcel of cloves, a little jáwi or benzoin, and a small piece of camphor.

Mansúr had been gone a little while when I received information that the governor had sent me a horse and two slaves as a present, with an intimation that I might likewise let him have the present which I had brought with me for him. But this I refused to do, declaring that I could not, under the present circumstances, either accept from him or give him anything, not having come as a merchant to barter with him, but as the messenger of another powerful sovereign to treat with him on friendly terms. My servant, Bú-S'ad, who, in the covetousness of his heart, already fancied himself in the possession of the two slaves, whom he knew well I myself could not accept, but whom he thought I would give up to him, went so far as to declare that, as the present had come from my sovereign, I had no alternative but to bestow it. But, seeing that I was firm, the messengers went away, and soon after a horseman arrived with the order for me to leave the town instantly.

Meanwhile, during all this negotiation and dispute, I had become extremely weak, and the excitement had brought on a very severe fit of fever. Indeed, I scarcely thought that I should be able to sit on horseback and to bear the sun, it being then just noon, and the sun shining forth with great power. Nevertheless, I got my things ready; but having left my quarters a little too soon, and being obliged to wait some time for the other people, I became so weak that I could no longer keep on my feet, but lay down on the ground till my companions arrived. Sitting then firmly in my large Arab stirrups, and

holding on to the pommel, I proceeded; and though I fainted twice, I soon regained some strength, a slight breeze having arisen, which greatly mitigated the burning heat.

Numbers of people accompanied me, expressing their grief and sorrow at my abrupt departure. By my refusing to write laiya, or to say the fat-ha, I had estranged many a friendly-disposed native, and by my obstinacy I had incurred the displeasure of their master, yet many of the people openly disapproved of his conduct toward me.

An immense quantity of rain having fallen during my stay here, the country appeared to me much more beautiful now than when we came, and full of fine cattle; and I felt so refreshed that I considered myself able to go as far as Ribágo, a ride of six hours at a slow rate.

Bíllama behaved exceedingly well; for when my treacherous servant Bú-S'ad, who was afraid lest Mohammed Lowel should wreak his anger upon me on the road, intimated to him that "if any thing of that sort should happen, they, of course, were Moslemín" — thus indicating that they could not defend me against those of their own creed, but should leave me to my fate — he indignantly left his company and rode up to me. Thus, without any accident, except that all my luggage was once more wetted through while passing the deep water of the máyo Bínti, we reached the friendly village, where, without ceremony, I took up my quarters in the well-known court-yard of our former host. But, before proceeding farther on my journey back, I must try to make the reader better acquainted with the country, though the abrupt way in which I was obliged to leave it allows me only, in most cases, to speak from the information of the natives.

Yóla is the capital of an extensive province, called by foreigners generally, and by the conquering Fúlbe in diplomatic language, A'damáwa, but the real name of which is Fúmbiná. Indeed, A'damáwa is quite a new name given to the country (exactly as I stated in my report sent to Europe some years ago) in honor of M'allem A'dama, the father of the present governor, who succeeded in founding here a new

Mohammedan empire on the ruins of several smaller pagan kingdoms, the most considerable of which was that of Kókomi. Whether what the people used to say be true, that the name of the wife of this officer was A'dama too, I am not able positively to decide.

Yóla is quite a new settlement, called by this name after the princely quarter of the town of Kanó, the former capital, of which Denham's expedition heard some faint report, being Gúrin. Yóla is situated in a swampy plain, and is bordered on the north side by an inlet of the river, the inundation of which reached close to that quarter where I was living. The town is certainly not less than three miles long from east to west. It seems probable that there are different names for the different quarters, but my stay was too short to allow me to learn them. The court-yards are large and spacious, but often contain only a single hut, the whole area being sown with grain during the rainy season. All the huts are built with clay walls on account of the violence of the rains, and are tolerably high. Only the governor and his elder brothers possess large establishments with dwellings built entirely of clay. Notwithstanding its size, the place can hardly contain more than twelve thousand inhabitants.

It has no industry, and the market, at least during the time of my stay there, was most insignificant and miserably supplied; but certainly during the season of field labor, as I have already had occasion to observe, all the markets in Negroland are less important than at other times of the year. The most common objects in the market, which find ready sale, are túrkedí, beads, and salt, while other articles, such as striped Manchester, calico, cloth bernúses, are generally sold privately to the wealthier people. The only articles of export at present are slaves and ivory. Four good túrkedí, bought in Kanó for 1800 or 2000 kurdí each, will generally purchase a slave, and a túrkedí will often buy an elephant's tusk of tolerable size.

Slavery exists on an immense scale in this country, and there are many private individuals who have more than a thousand

slaves. In this respect the governor of the whole province is not the most powerful man, being outstripped by the governors of Chámba and Kóncha — for this reason, that Mohammed Lowel has all his slaves settled in rúmde, or slave villages, where they cultivate grain for his use or profit, while the above-mentioned officers, who obtain all their provision in corn from subjected pagan tribes, have their whole host of slaves constantly at their disposal; and I have been assured that some of the head slaves of these men have as many as a thousand slaves each under their command, with whom they undertake occasional expeditions for their masters. I have been assured, also, that Mohammed Lowel receives every year in tribute, besides horses and cattle, about five thousand slaves, though this seems a large number.

The country of Fúmbiná is about two hundred miles long in its greatest extent, running from southwest to northeast, while its shortest diameter seems to reach from northwest to southeast, and scarcely ever exceeds seventy or eighty miles; but this territory is as yet far from being entirely subjected to the Mohammedan conquerors, who, in general, are only in possession of detached settlements, while the intermediate country, particularly the more mountainous tracts, is still in the hands of the pagans. The people in this part of the country are engaged in constant warfare. While the country north from the Bénuwé, between Yóla and Hamárruwa, is entirely independent, and inhabited by warlike pagan tribes, the best-subjected tract seems to be that between the Wándalá and the Músgu country, where the settlements of the conquering tribe are very compact.

[Dr. Barth was now obliged to retrace his steps from Yóla back to Kúkawa. He was accompanied by Bíllama, the agent of the Sheikh of Bórnu, who had come to Yóla with him. No incident of importance took place on his return journey, during which he suffered considerably from the remains of a fever contracted in Yóla. On the 20th of June he had nearly reached Kúkawa.]

*June 20th.* At an early hour in the afternoon, deviating a

little from the path, we turned into the village of Kálilnwá Grémarí, which belongs to 'Abd e' Rahmán, the second brother of Sheikh 'Omár, and found the male inhabitants of the village sitting in the shade of a chédia or caoutchouc-tree, busily employed in making wicker-work. However, they proved too clearly that we had entered the inhospitable zone in the neighborhood of the capital; observing, with great coolness, that the sun was as yet high, and would enable us still to make a good march to some other place, they would hear nothing of our quartering in their village. But Billama was not the man to be laughed at; and, riding through the midst of them, he took possession for me of one of the best huts. I could not, in truth, approve of this despotical mode of dealing; but I was too weak to run the risk of spending a night in my tent on the damp ground. The villagers seemed to be drained to the utmost by their gracious lord, and did not possess a single cow; even fowls were scarcely to be seen.

In the evening I was greatly amused at first by the noisy hum of "mákaranchí," or school, close to my hut, where, round a large fire, some six or seven boys were repeating, at the highest pitch of their voices, and with utter disregard of the sense, a few verses of the Kurán, which in the daytime they had been taught to read by their master, who doubtless understood them as little as the boys themselves; but by degrees the noise became almost insupportable. It is generally thought in Europe that a school-boy is too much tormented; but these poor African boys, for the little they learn, are worried still more — at least, I have often found them in the cold season, and with scarcely a rag of a shirt on, sitting round a miserable fire as early as four o'clock in the morning, learning their lessons. Besides, they have to perform all sorts of menial service for the master, and are often treated no better than slaves.

*Monday, July 21st.* The country which we passed in the morning presented more pasture-grounds than cultivated lands, and after a little while I turned, with my companion, out of our path, to the left, toward a small encampment or "berí Shúwabe" of the Kohálemí, a Shúwa or Arab tribe, where,

for three large beads, called "nejúm," we bought a little fresh milk. On this occasion I learned from Bíllama that the Shúwa or native Arabs settled in the district of Ujé belong to the tribe of the Sáraji, while the Sugúla and the Sálamát have their camping-grounds farther east.

The country became rather dreary, black "fírki"-ground and sandy soil alternately succeeding each other; and traffic there was none. But when we reached the well of Maira, a considerable place which we passed on our left hand, the path became animated from an interesting cause, a whole village or "berí" of wandering Arabs passing through in search of fresh pasture-grounds to the west. Each mistress of a family was sitting on the top of her best household furniture, which was carefully packed on the backs of the cattle and covered with hides, while a female slave followed her, sitting astride on the less valuable gear and the poles, with pots and other such utensils; but distinguished above all by the harness of her bullock, the neat arrangement of her seat, a leather tent-like covering over her head, and the stoutness of her own person, sat the wife of the chief. Most of these women, however, were rather slender than otherwise, testifying to the sound and well-preserved national taste of these Arabs. They never veil the face, and their dress is simple and decent; but they are not nearly so tidy as the Fulfúlde ladies. Most of the men followed at a great distance with the flocks of goats and sheep. When this interesting procession had passed by, the monotony of the country was more intensely felt.

We then entered a well cultivated and thickly inhabited district called Yelé, where it was a novelty to be obliged to draw water from the well or barrem Yelé; for, since reaching Ujé on our journey out, we had constantly met water-pools or small rivulets, from which we took our supply, and even the well at Maira was rendered quite superfluous by a large tank close by. However, I have already had occasion to observe that the water from these stagnant pools is anything but wholesome, particularly after the rainy season, when they receive no further supply; and I have no doubt that the drinking of such

water is the principal, if not the only cause of that dreadful and wide-spread disease (the "fárantít" or "'arúg"—"ngíduwí" in Kanúri — "the misery") which disables the working-man, and makes him a poor wretched being — the Guinea-worm, which is sure to be met with in at least one out of three persons who travel a great deal, through the whole of Central Africa. I never met with an instance of this disease in a woman. It seemed to me, too, as if the pagans, whose nakedness exposed all their limbs to view, suffered less from it.

We were now only one day's march from Kúkawa, and we started early the next morning, in order to reach home before night. The neighborhood of the capital had been sufficiently indicated already during the last day's march by the dúm-bushes, which, with the melancholy *Asclepias gigantea*, might well decorate the scutcheon of Kúkawa—with more justice, indeed, than the kúka, or monkey-bread-tree, from which the name was taken, but of which but a few poor stunted specimens are to be seen in the court-yard of the palace in the eastern town.

We had scarcely gone a mile when we met the first body of Shúwa, men and women, who were returning with their unloaded pack-oxen from the great Monday market of the capital, and then the string of market-people on their way to their respective homes was almost uninterrupted. While our people followed the road, Bíllama and I turned off a little to the left, in order to pay a visit to the mayor of Múnghono, and obtain a cool drink; for, since I had had the fever, I suffered greatly from thirst, and the water from the wells in general, as preserving a mean temperature of about 80 degrees, was quite tepid.

Múnghono, which is likewise the name of the whole district, has been a place of importance from early times, and is often mentioned in the history of the Bórnu kings. After the richness of natural forms which I had beheld in A'damáwa, the country seemed extremely monotonous, there being nothing whatever to cheer the eye except the blossoms of the mimosa, which spread a sweet scent all around. We encamped during the hot hours of the day near the well of Káine, where we had great difficulty in supplying ourselves with water from the

well, while a little later in the season a large lake is formed here; for Africa is the region of contrasts as well in nature as in human life.

When we set out again from this place, people from the town, who had been informed of our approach, came to meet us; and I heard, to my great satisfaction, that the crafty Arab Mohammed el Mughárbi, whom I had already met in Gúmmel, had at length arrived with the merchandise confided to his care, the nominal value of which was £100 sterling, so that there was at least some hope of being able to carry on the mission on a small scale.

But I could not but feel pleased with my reception on returning to head-quarters in this part of the world; for when we approached the southern gate of the town, three horsemen, who were stationed there, came galloping up to me, and having saluted me with their spears raised, placed themselves in front, and in stately procession led me through the town to my house, where I was soon regaled with a plentiful supper sent by the vizier. I afterwards perceived that he had expected me to pay him my respects the same evening; but, as I felt very weak, I deferred the visit till the next morning, when, on his return from an early visit to the sheikh, he gave me an audience in the presence of all the people. Having expressed his sorrow at my reduced state, and having inquired how I had been received in A'damáwa, he entered, with apparent delight, into a long conversation with me respecting the form of the earth and the whole system of the world. On being asked what I now intended to do, I replied that it was my design, after having made the tour of the lake, to try to penetrate into the regions south of Bagírmi. He immediately expressed his doubts as to the possibility of going round the lake as far as the Bahar el Ghazál, but promised to further my plans as far as possible, although he thought that I had done enough already, and should rather think of returning home safely with the results of my labors; for, seeing me so weak during the first rainy season which I was spending in these regions, he was afraid that something might happen to me.

Well satisfied with this audience, I returned to my quarters and wrote a short report to H. M,'s government of the results of my journey, informing them that my most deeply-cherished hopes with regard to that river in the south had been surpassed, and requesting them to send an expedition in order to verify its identity with the so-called Chadda. This report, which was sent off by a courier a day or two before Mr. Overweg's return from his navigation of the lake, and which was overtaken by a messenger with a short account of his survey, created general satisfaction in Europe, and procured for me the confidence of H. M.'s government. Meanwhile I endeavored to arrange the pecuniary affairs of the mission as well as I could.

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## CHAPTER XIV.

Dr. Barth agrees to accompany a band of Arab freebooters on a plundering expedition. — He is presented with a fine horse by the Vizier of Bórnu. — He starts on the expedition. — Is joined by Dr. Overweg. — Robberies of the Arabs. — Great herd of Elephants. — Large snake killed. — Outrages of the Arabs. — Their camp taken by the enemy. — Baggage of the travellers plundered. — Return of the expedition to Kúkawa.

I HAD left Kúkawa on my journey to A'damáwa in the best state of health, but had brought back from that excursion the germs of disease; and residence in the town, at least at this period of the year, was not likely to improve my condition. It would certainly have been better for me had I been able to retire to some more healthy spot; but trivial, though urgent business, obliged me to remain in Kúkawa.

It was necessary to sell the merchandise which had at length arrived, in order to keep the mission in some way or other afloat, by paying the most urgent debts and providing the necessary means for further explorations. There was merchandise to the value of one hundred pounds sterling; but, as I was obliged to sell the things at a reduced rate for ready

money, the loss was considerable; for all business in these countries is transacted on two or three months' credit, and, after all, payment is made, not in ready money, but chiefly in slaves. It is, no doubt, very necessary for a traveller to be provided with those various articles which form the presents to be made to the chiefs, and which are in many districts required for bartering; but he ought not to depend upon their sale for the supply of his wants. Altogether it is difficult to carry on trade in conjunction with extensive geographical research, although a person sitting quietly down in a place, and entering into close relations with the natives, might collect a great deal of interesting information, which would probably escape the notice of the roving traveller, whose purpose is rather to explore distant regions. Besides, I was obliged to make numerous presents to my friends, in order to keep them in good humor, and had very often not only to provide dresses for themselves and their wives, but even for their domestic retainers; so, that, all things considered, the supply of one hundred pounds' worth of merchandise could not last very long.

My friend the vizier, whose solicitude for my health I cannot acknowledge too warmly, was very anxious that I should not stay in the town during the rainy season; and knowing that one of our principal objects was to investigate the eastern shore of Lake Tsád, sent me word, on the 11th of August, that I might now view the bahár el ghazál, an undertaking which, as I have already mentioned, he had at first represented as impossible. The news from Kánem, however, was now favorable; but, as I shall speak in another place of the political state of this distracted country, and of the continual struggle between Bórnu and Wáday, I need only mention here that the Welád Slimán, who had become a mercenary band attached to the vizier, had been successful during their last expedition, and were reported on the very day of my return from A'damáwa to have made a prize of 150 horses and a great many camels, which, however, was a great exaggeration.

We were well acquainted with the character of these people, who are certainly the most lawless robbers in the world; but

as it was the express wish of the British government that we should endeavor to explore the regions bordering on the lake, there was no course open to us but to unite our pursuits with theirs; besides, they were prepared in some measure for such a union; for, while they inhabited the grassy lands round the great Syrtis, they had come into frequent contact with the English. We had no choice, for all the districts to the north-east and east of the Tsád were at present in a certain degree dependent on Wádáy, then at war with Bórnu, and we were told at the commencement that we might go anywhere except to Wádáy. Instead of fighting it out with his own people, which certainly would have been the most honorable course, the vizier had ventured to make use of the remnant of the warlike, and at present homeless tribe of the Welád Slimán, in the attempt to recover the eastern districts of Kánem from his eastern rival, or at least to prevent the latter from obtaining a sure footing in them; for this object he had made a sort of treaty with these Arabs, undertaking to supply them with horses, muskets, powder, and shot. Thus, in order to visit those inhospitable regions, which had attracted a great deal of attention in Europe, we were obliged to embrace this opportunity. Under these circumstances, on the 16th of August, I sent the vizier word that I was ready to join the Welád Slimán in Búrgu; whereupon he expressed a wish that Mr. Overweg might likewise accompany us, the stay in Kúkawa during the rainy season being very unhealthy.

Mr. Overweg had returned on the 9th to Maduwári from his interesting voyage on the Tsád, of which every one will deeply regret that he himself was not able to give a full account. Traversing that shallow basin in the English boat which we had carried all the way through the unbounded sandy wastes and the rocky wildernesses of the desert, he had visited a great part of the islands which are dispersed over its surface, and which, sometimes reduced to narrow sandy downs, at others expanding to wide grassy lowlands, sustain a population in their peculiar national independence, the remnant of a great nation which was exterminated by the Kanúri. It was a little world of its own

with which he had thus come into contact, and into which we might hope to obtain by degrees a better insight. He enjoyed excellent health, far better than when I saw him before, on his first rejoining me in Kúkawa; and as he was well aware of the strong reasons which our friend the vizier had for wishing us not to stay in the swampy lowlands round the capital during the latter part of the rainy season, he agreed to join me on this adventurous expedition to the northeast.

Altogether, our situation in the country was not so bad. We were on the best and most friendly terms with the rulers; we were not only tolerated, but even respected by the natives, and we saw an immense field of interesting and useful labor open to us. There was only one disagreeable circumstance besides the peculiar nature of the climate; this was the fact that our means were too small to render us quite independent of the sheikh and his vizier; for the scanty supplies which had reached us were not sufficient to provide for our wants, and were soon gone. We were scarcely able to keep ourselves afloat on our credit, and to supply our most necessary wants. Mr. Overweg, besides receiving a very handsome horse from them, had also been obliged to accept at their hands a number of tobes, which he had made presents of to the chiefs of the Búdduma, and they looked upon him as almost in their employment.

The horse which they had first given me had proved incapable of such fatigue as it had to undergo, and the animal which I had bought before going to A'damáwa had been too much knocked up to stand another journey so soon; and, after having bought two other camels and prepared myself for another expedition, I was unable, with my present means, to buy a good horse. Remembering, therefore, what the vizier had told me with regard to my first horse, I sent him word that he would greatly oblige me by making me a present of one, and he was kind enough to send me four animals from which to choose; but as none of these satisfied me, I rejected them all, intimating very simply that it was impossible, among four *nags*, "kádara," to choose one *horse*, "fir." This hint, after a little further explanation, my friend did not fail to under-

stand, and in the evening of the 7th of September he sent me a horse from his own stable, which became my faithful and noble companion for the next four campaigns, and from which I did not part till, after my return from Timbúktu in December, 1854, he succumbed to sickness in Kanó.

He was the envy of all the great men, from the Sultan of Bagírmi to the chiefs of the Tademékket and Awelímmiden near Timbúktu. His color was a shade of gray, with beautiful light leopard-like spots; and the Kanúri were not unanimous with regard to the name which they gave it, some calling it "shéggará," while others thought the name "kerí sassarándi" more suitable to it. In the company of mares he was incapable of walking quietly, but kept playing in order to show himself off to advantage. The Bórnu horses in general are very spirited and fond of prancing. He was an excellent "kerísa," or marcher, and "doy," or swift in the extreme, but very often lost his start by his playfulness. Of his strength, the extent of the journeys which he made with me bears ample testimony, particularly if the warlike, scientific, and victualling stores which I used to carry with me are taken into account. He was a "ngírma," but not of the largest size. Mr. Overweg's horse was almost half a hand higher; but while mine was a lion in agility, my companion's horse was not unlike a hippopotamus in plumpness.

With such a horse I prepared cheerfully for my next expedition, which I regarded in the light both of an undertaking in the interests of science and as a medicinal course for restoring my health, which threatened to succumb in the unhealthy region of Kúkawa. Besides two Fezzáni lads, I had taken into my service two Arabs belonging to the tribe of the Welád Sliman, and whose names were Bú-Zéd and Hasén ben Hár.

*September* 11*th*, 1851. Having decided upon leaving the town in advance of the Arabs, in order to obtain leisure for travelling slowly the first few days, and to accustom my feeble frame once more to the fatigues of a continual march, after a rest of forty days in the town I ordered my people to get my luggage ready in the morning.

I had plenty of provisions, such as zummíta, dwéda or vermicelli, mohámsa, and nákia, a sort of sweetmeat made of rice with butter and honey — two skins of each quality. All was stowed away, with the little luggage I intended taking with me on this adventurous journey, in two pairs of large leathern bags or kéwa, which my two camels were to carry.

When all was ready I went to the vizier, in order to take leave of him and arrange with my former servant, Mohammed ben S'ad, to whom I owed thirty-five dollars. Háj Beshír, as usual, was very kind and amiable; but as for my former servant, having not a single dollar in cash, I was obliged to give him a bill upon Fezzán for seventy-five dollars. There was also a long talk on the subject of the enormous debt due to the Fezzáni merchant Mohammed e' Sfáksi; and as it was not possible to settle it at once, I was obliged to leave its definite arrangement to Mr. Overweg.

All this disagreeable business, which is so killing to the best hours, and destroys half the energy of the traveller, had retarded my departure so long that the sun was just setting when I left the gate of the town.

[No incident of importance took place till the 18th of September, when Dr. Barth, after passing Yó and some other unimportant villages, was joined by Dr. Overweg.]

*Thursday, September* 18*th.* About two hours after midnight Mr. Overweg arrived, accompanied by one of the most conspicuous of the Welád Slimán, of the name of Khálef-Allah, announcing the approach of our little troop, which did not, however, make its appearance until ten o'clock in the morning, when the most courageous and best mounted of them galloped up to my tent in pairs, brandishing their guns. There were twenty-five horsemen, about a dozen men mounted upon camels, and seven or eight on foot, besides children. They dismounted a little to the east of our tents, and formed quite an animated encampment, though, of course, quarrels were sure to break out soon.

*Friday, September* 19*th.* Overweg and I, accompanied by Khálef-Allah and a guide, made an excursion down the river,

in order, if possible, to reach its mouth; but the experiment proved that there is no path on the southern shore, the track following the northern bank; for on that side, not far from the mouth, lies a considerable Kánembú place called Bóso, though, in the present weak state of the Bórnu kingdom, much exposed to the incursions of the Tawárek. Having penetrated as far as a village, or rather a walled town, named Fátse, the walls of which are in a decayed state, and the population reduced to a dozen families, we were obliged to give up our intended survey of the river. As for myself, I was scarcely able to make any long excursion, for, on attempting to mount my horse again, I fainted, and fell senseless to the ground, to the great consternation of my companions, who felt convinced my end was approaching. We therefore returned to our encampment. In the evening I had a severe attack of fever.

[Dr. Barth recovering speedily from this attack, the party proceeded, and on the 24th of September arrived at Ngégimi, where they were disappointed in endeavoring to obtain some fowls for a dinner, and speedily left the place. The following passages of his journal afford us a specimen of the character of the Welád Slimán, the Arab freebooters, whom the travellers were accompanying in their expedition to Kánem.]

Plunged into sad reflections on the fate of this once splendid empire of Kánem, and the continued progress of the Berber race into the heart of Sudán, I hung listlessly upon my horse, when, on leaving this uncomfortable dwelling-place, we took our course over the unbroken plain, once no doubt the bottom of the lake,* and soon to become once more a part of it. Sometimes it was dry and barren, at others clothed with rich verdure, while on our left it was bordered by a range of sand-hills, the natural limit of the lagoon. At a little before noon we came to a deep inlet of the lake, spreading the freshest verdure all around in this now desolate country. Having watered our horses, and taken in a sufficient supply of this element for the night, we crossed the plain, here not more than a thousand

* The Tsád.

yards wide, and ascended a broad promontory of the range of sand-hills, where we encamped.

It was a delightful spot, where the heart might have expanded in the enjoyment of freedom. In front of us to the southeast, the swampy lands of the lagoon, one immense rice-field (as it ought to be at least), spread out to the borders of the horizon; but no "white water," or open sea, was to be seen — not even as much as connected channels — nothing but one immense swampy flat, stretching out as far as the eye could reach. To the south the green pasturages, along which we had come, extended far beyond Ngégimi. It was a picture of one of the most fertile spots of the earth doomed to desolation. But there was a feeble spark of hope in me that it would not always be so, and I flattered myself that my labors in these new regions might contribute to sow here the first germs of a new life, a new activity.

My companions and friends did not seem to share in my feelings; for, wholly intent upon mischief, they had been roving about, and having fallen in with some Kánembú cattle-breeders, they had plundered them not only of their milk, but also of the vessels which contained it; and in the afternoon some respectable old men applied to Mr. Overweg and myself, the only just people they were sure to find among this wild band of lawless robbers, for redress, and we were happy not only to restore to them their vessels, but also to make them a few small presents.

*Thursday, September 25th.* Descending from our lofty encampment, we continued our march in the narrow grassy plain, between the sand-hills to the north, and another blue inlet of the lake to the south, where the rich pasture-grounds extended further into the lake.

It was about seven o'clock in the morning when we had the good fortune to enjoy one of the most interesting scenes which these regions can possibly afford. Far to our right was a whole herd of elephants, arranged in regular array like an army of rational beings, slowly proceeding to the water. In front appeared the males, as was evident from their size, in regular order; at a little distance followed the young ones; in

a third line were the females; and the whole were brought up by five males of immense size. The latter (though we were at some distance, and proceeding quietly along) took notice of us, and some were seen throwing dust in the air; but we did not disturb them. There were altogether ninety-six.

The fine fresh pasture-grounds some time afterward gave way to a drier plain, covered with a species of heath, and the country presented rather a melancholy appearance. A little before ten o'clock we came to a large herd of cattle or "berí," collected round a small hamlet or dawar, consisting of light, high-topped corn-stalks, fastened together by three rings of straw, and lightly plastered with a little cow-dung. But, although we obtained some milk, some of our friends, not content with filling their stomachs, laid hold of a fine pony and carried it off, under the pretext that it belonged to the Búd-duma, who, as they asserted, were enemies of the sheikh; and when we had started again, and encountered a small caravan of oxen laden with dates, not only were all the skins containing the dates taken, but another ruffian laid hold of one of the beasts of burden and dragged it away with him, notwithstandstanding the lamentations of its owner. And yet the people who were thus treated were subjects of the King of Bórnu, and the Welád Slimán were his professed friends and hirelings.

Fine fresh pasture-grounds, and melancholy tracts clothed with nothing but heath, succeeded each other, while not a single tree broke the monotony of the level country. At length we encamped near a deserted village of cattle-breeders, consisting of about twenty small, conical huts, built in the form of a large circle. We had scarcely begun to make ourselves comfortable, when a noisy quarrel arose about the dates so unjustly taken from their owners, and some of the Arabs concerned in the dispute came to my tent in order to have their claims settled, when the whole particulars of the shameless robberies committed in the course of the day came under my notice, especially that of the horse. But this was a delicate subject, and one that excited the angry passions of those concerned — so much so that one of them, named Ibrahím, came

running with his loaded gun straight into my tent, threatening to blow out the brains of anybody who spoke of injustice or robbery. As for Bakhér and 'Abd e' Rahmán, who were the actual possessors of the horse, they were about to leave by themselves.

The violent proceedings of our protectors had spread such terror throughout these almost desolate regions, that in the evening, solely from fear, two oxen and a quantity of milk were sent from a neighboring berí as presents. The night was fresh, but not cold, and a very heavy dew fell.

*Monday, September 29th.* Started early: the character of the country continued the same as yesterday, and presented beautiful specimens of the mimosa, here breaking down from age, at another place interwoven with creepers, one species of which produces the red, juicy fruit called "fito" by the Kanúri, and has been mentioned by me before. It was nearly eight o'clock when, proceeding in groups, two of our horsemen, on passing near a very large and thick gherret, suddenly halted, and with loud cries hastened back to us. We approached the spot, and saw a very large snake hanging in a threatening attitude from the branches of the tree: on seeing us it tried to hide itself; but after firing several balls, it fell down, and we cut off its head. It measured 18 feet 7 inches in length, and at the thickest part 5 inches in diameter, and was of a beautifully variegated color. Two natives, who had attached themselves to our troop the day before, cut it open and took out the fat, which they said was excellent.

*Wednesday, October 1st.* Having set out early, after nearly two hours' ride we were met by a single horseman coming toward us from the encampment of the Welád Slimán, and bidding us welcome to their wild country. They kept starting up from the thicket on our right and left, firing their muskets and saluting us with their usual war-cry, "yá riyáb, yá riyáb." Having thus advanced about half an hour, we came to a halt in order to receive in a more solemn form the warlike compliments of a larger troop of horsemen, led on by a person of some importance.

The dust raised by the horsemen having subsided a little, and the country being clearer of wood, we now saw before us the whole cavalry of the Welád Slimán drawn up in a line in their best attire, their chief Ghét, the son of Séf el Nasr ben Ghét, and his uncle 'Omár, the son of Ghét, and brother of 'Abd el Jelíl, in the midst of them. This stately reception, not having been anticipated by Overweg and myself, made a great impression upon us; but we were not left to gaze long, but were desired by our Arab companions to ride in advance of the line in compliment to the chiefs. We accordingly put our steeds into a gallop, and, riding straight up to our new friends, saluted them with our pistols. Having answered our compliments, and bidding us welcome to their wild abode, the young Ghét galloping along at the head of his squadrons, his sword drawn, and with the continuous cry "yá riyáb, yá riyáb," they led us to the encampment, and we had a place shown to us where we might pitch our tents.

We had now joined our fate with that of this band of robbers, who, in consequence of their reckless habits, having been driven from their original dwelling-places in the Syrtis, after a great variety of events, have at length established themselves in this border region between the desert and the fertile regions of Negroland, under the guidance of Mohammed, the son of 'Abd el Jelíl, on the ruins of the old kingdom of Kánem.

The Vizier of Bórnu had taken this young man, to whom very little power and property were left, under his special protection, entering with him and the remaining part of the tribe into a contract to the effect that he would furnish them with horses and muskets, as far as they should stand in need of them, on condition of their delivering to him a certain share of their booty in every expedition. Of course, such a troop of swift horsemen, armed with muskets, if kept in strict subjection and subordination, might have proved exceedingly useful on the northern borders of Bórnu, on the one side as a check upon the Tawárek, on the other upon Wádáy. But the great difficulty, which the vizier appears not to have overcome, was

to subject the predatory excursions of such a set of people to some sort of political rule.

With this view, he sent the young chief, who was scarcely more than twenty years of age, to Kánem, with all that were left of the Welád Slimán, keeping back in Kúkawa, as hostages for his proceedings, his mother, and the wives and little children of some of the principal men. But from the beginning there was a strong party against the young chief, who had not yet achieved any exploit, and whose sole merit consisted in his being the nearest relation of 'Abd el Jelíl. 'Omár, his uncle, who from his youth had given himself up to a life of devotion, and was called a Merábet, had a considerable party; and there were, besides, several men who thought themselves of as much importance as their chief.

This was the horde with which, in order to carry out the objects of our mission to the utmost of our power, Mr. Overweg and I were obliged to associate our fate; but, unfortunately, we were unprovided with that most essential article for exciting a more than common interest in ourselves personally, or the objects of our mission, namely, valuable presents.

While our people pitched our tents, Mr. Overweg and I went to pay our compliments to Sheikh Ghét and 'Omár, and to have a friendly talk with them before we proceeded to more serious business. They seemed to expect this compliment, having lain down in the shade of a tree at a short distance from our place of encampment. Ghét, who was smoking a long pipe, was a tolerably handsome young man; but his pronunciation was very defective, and he had nothing very commanding in his manner. Having exchanged a few compliments and asked some general questions, we withdrew, and soon after received a present of dates and milk.

When the heat of the day had a little abated, we prepared the small present we had to give to Sheikh Ghét, and which consisted of a red cloth bernús of good workmanship, a pound of cloves, a pound of jáwi or benzoin, and a razor. We were well aware that it was rather a trifling gift, considering the assistance we required from these people to carry out our object;

but we knew also that it was rather a favor bestowed upon us by the Vizier of Bórnu, who regarded these people as in his service. Referring, therefore, to the friendship which existed of old between their tribe, when still in their old settlements in the Syrtis, and the English consul in Tripoli, and delivering a letter from Mr. Frederick Warrington, who was personally well known to the chief men, we openly professed that the object of our coming was to try, with their assistance, to visit the eastern shore of the lake, and especially the Bahar el Ghazál, which had formed a remarkable object of curiosity in our country for some time. But Sheikh Ghét, without hesitation, declared it was impossible for them to take us to that place, the most dangerous locality in all these quarters, on account of the many predatory expeditions which were made to that spot from different quarters, and by tribes hostile to them. After some commonplace talk about the English, we left him, and went to his uncle with a present of precisely the same kind, and began here to urge the distinct object of our coming in a more positive way. I expressed the opinion that, as they would render acceptable service to the British government if they were to enable us to investigate the connection between the Bahar el Ghazál and the lake, so, on the other hand, a great portion of the blame, if we should not be able to carry out our design, would certainly fall upon them, inasmuch as they had always professed to be under great obligations toward the English. 'Omár ben Ghét ben Séf e' Nasr acknowledged all this; but he doubted very much if the band, in its present reduced state, would be able to carry us to those quarters, which were entirely under the sway of Wáday.

We then took our leave of 'Omár and returned to our tents. The place of the encampment was a fine, open, sandy, undulating level, commanding the vale, where are the wells Yongo or Bú-Halíma, covered with verdure, and richly adorned with scattered mimosas. The tents and sheds of the Arabs were spread over a great space, and no precaution was taken to obtain some degree of security by means of fences and stockades. The sun having set, I lay down outside my tent to

enjoy the coolness and tranquillity of the evening after a hot and troublesome day.

All seemed calm and tranquil, when suddenly a terrible screaming and crying arose from the women in the west part of the encampment. We hurried to our arms, thinking that an enemy had entered the place. The cry, "'Alá e' dhahar!" 'alá e' dhahar!" (mount! mount!) — properly speaking, "in the saddle!" "in the saddle!" — sounded from all sides, and the horsemen hurried past us; but it was only a small party of freebooters, who, in the twilight of the evening, had made an attack upon the camels, and, after having put to flight two or three men and killed a horseman, had driven off a part of the herd. Our friends pursued the robbers at full speed and soon overtook them, when they retreated into the thicket and gave up their booty.

In this way we had a specimen of the character of our present expedition the very first day we had joined this little horde; and the lamentations of the females on account of the man who had been slain sounded woefully through the night, and brought before our minds the fate which, in a very short time, might befall ourselves. Late in the night, when the alarm had subsided, Sheikh Ghét sent us a heifer as a present.

[Dr. Barth and Dr. Overweg continued to accompany the Arab freebooters, and witness their plundering skirmishes. Their rapid marches occasioned much inconvenience to the travellers. The following record in Dr. Barth's journal of October 19th, affords a fair specimen of the kind of life he led among the Arabs.]

The Arabs had not made a very considerable booty, the Woghda having received intelligence of their approach and saved what they could. The whole result of the expedition was fifteen camels, a little more than three hundred head of cattle, and about fifteen hundred sheep and goats. The Arabs were for some time in great anxiety about Ghét, and a party of horsemen who had gone with him to a greater distance; but he joined us here, driving before him a large flock of sheep. We were busy watering our horses, and providing ourselves

with this necessary element. But there was not much leisure; for scarcely had we begun to draw water, when the alarm was given that the Woghda were attacking us, and three bodies of horsemen were formed in order to protect the train and the booty. The main body rushed out of the valley on the south-east side, and drove the enemy back to a considerable distance; but the intention of encamping on the slope near this well was given up as too dangerous, and it was decided to go to a greater distance, though the intention of penetrating to M'awó seemed not as yet entirely to be abandoned. It took us a considerable time to get out of this wooded valley, the Arabs being afraid of being attacked and losing their booty.

At length, the cattle and flocks having been driven in advance, we started, and, leaving the vale, ascended elevated rocky ground, from which, following a southwesterly direction, we descended, a little before two o'clock in the afternoon, into the narrower eastern part of a deep and beautiful valley, which here is adorned by a pretty grove of date-trees, while its western part expands into fine cultivated ground. Here we made a halt of about half an hour, in order to water the animals and replenish our skins; for not even here was it thought advisable to encamp, as it is regarded as a very inauspicious place, this being the spot where, in 1850, the Kél-owí fell upon the Welád Slimán and almost exterminated them. After so short a halt we again pursued our march. I was now so totally exhausted that I was obliged to dismount at short intervals and lie down for a moment; and once, when left alone, it was only with the utmost exertion that I was able to mount my horse again; but nevertheless I managed to drag myself along. At length, about sunset, we chose a place for our encampment on the brow of the slope descending into a deep valley. Having now been thirty-four hours on horseback with only short and insufficient intervals, I fell senseless to the ground, and was considered by Mr. Overweg and our people as about to breathe my last. But after an hour's repose I recovered a little, and, having had a good night's rest, felt my-

self much stronger on the following morning, so that I could even undergo some exertion which was not exactly necessary.

*Monday, October 20th.* Descended with our people into the valley when they went to fetch water. It is called A'láli A'dia, or Jerád, from a small hamlet lying on the highest ground, and called A'láli. The well was very rich and plentiful; but no traces of cultivation appeared at the foot of the date-trees. The slope was rather steep, and about 130 feet high. The Arabs, who had contracted their encampment or "dowar" within the smallest possible compass, barricading it with their baggage, as all the empty bags which they had taken with them on the expedition were now full of corn from the magazines of the enemy, were not at all at their ease, and seemed not to know exactly what course to take, whether to penetrate further in advance or to return. Several Fugábú and people belonging to Hallúf came to pay their respects to Sheikh Ghét; and a person of considerable authority, called Keghámma, or rather Keghámma-futébe (Seraskier of the West), the very man of whom we before had heard so much talk, came also and paid me a visit in my tent; for, being in a weak state, I had been obliged, when the sun became oppressive, to pitch my tent, as there was no shade. There being no other tent in the encampment, I received visits from several parties who wished to breakfast a little at their ease, and among others from a man called Kédel Batrám, Hallúf's brother. Keghámma stated that he was certainly able to bring us to Kárká; but this was a mere pretence, and he himself retracted his promise shortly afterward before the sheikh. Our cherished object lay still before us, at a considerable distance; but our friend Ghét thought that he had brought us already far enough to deserve some more presents, and plainly intimated as much to us through 'Abd-Allah. Fortunately, I had a handsome yellow cloth caftan with me, embroidered with gold, and toward evening, when I had recovered from a severe fit of fever, which had suddenly attacked me in the afternoon, we went to pay our compliments to the chief, and begged him to accept of it; at the same time we told him we should be satisfied if we were enabled to visit the district

belonging to the keghámma. But the situation of the Arabs soon became more dangerous, and nothing was thought of but to retrace our steps westward with the greatest possible expedition.

I was lying sleepless in my tent, in a rather weak state, having scarcely tasted any kind of food for the last few days on account of my feverish state, when, in the latter part of the night, a great alarm was raised in the camp, and I heard the Arabs mount their horses and ride about in several detachments, raising their usual war-cry, "yá riyáb, yá riyáb;" but I remained quietly on my mat, and was not even roused from my lethargical state when I received the intelligence that a numerous hostile army, consisting of the Woghda, the Médelé, the Shíri, and the people of the Eastern Keghámma, was advancing against the camp. I received this news with that indifference with which a sick and exhausted man regards even the most important events. Neither did I stir when, with the first dawn of day on the 21st, the enemy having actually arrived within a short distance, our friends left the camp in order to offer battle. I heard about ten shots fired, but did not think that the Arabs would be beaten. Suddenly Overweg, who had saddled his horse at the very beginning of the alarm, called out anxiously to me that our friends were defeated, and, mounting his horse, started off at a gallop. My mounted servant, Bú-Zéd, had long taken to his heels; and thus, while Mohammed was hastily saddling my horse, I flung my bernús over me, and grasping my pistols and gun, and throwing my double sack over the saddle, I mounted and started off toward the west, ordering Mohammed to cling fast to my horse's tail. It was the very last moment, for at the same time the enemy began to attack the east side of the camp. All the people had fled, and I saw only the chief slave of Ghét, who, with great anxiety, entreated me to take his master's state sword with me, that it might not fall into the hands of the enemy.

But I had not gone a great distance when I heard firing close behind me, and, turning round, saw the Arab horsemen

rallying, and with the cry "He keléb, keléb," turn round against the enemy, who had dispersed in order to collect the spoil. I went on in order to inform Mr. Overweg, who, together with the Arabs who were mounted on camels, and even several horsemen, had fled to some distance and posted themselves on a hill. Assuring him that the danger was over, I returned with him to the camp, where we were rather surprised to find that not only all our luggage was gone, but that not even a vestige of my tent was left.

The enemy, attracted only by the English tent and Sheikh Ghét's baggage, had scarcely touched the effects of the other people, but considered my tent as a fair prize and ran away with it. But the Arabs pursuing them, we got back most of our things. A leathern English bag of mine, which contained some articles of value, had been cut open, just, as it seemed, at the moment when our friends came up with the enemy. Our chief loss consisted in our cooking utensils and provisions; I also much regretted the loss of an English prayer-book which had belonged to Mr. Richardson. Four of the Arabs had been killed, and thirty-four of the enemy. Mr. Overweg was busily employed in dressing some severe wounds inflicted on our friends. The Arabs were furious at the insolence, as they called it, of the enemy, who had dared to attack them in their own encampment, and they swore they would now go and burn down all their hamlets and their corn. The horsemen actually left, but returned in the course of the afternoon rather silently, with a sullen face and unfavorable tidings, and before sunset they were once more obliged to defend their own encampment against another attack of the energetic natives; they, however, succeeded in beating them off. Hallúf distinguished himself greatly by his valor, killing three or four of the enemy with his own hand.

But, notwithstanding this little victory, the forebodings for the night were very unfavorable, and our friends would certainly have decamped immediately if they had not been afraid that in the darkness of the night the greater part might take to their heels, and that a shameful flight would be followed by

great loss of life and property. Accordingly, they determined to remain till the next morning. But an anxious and restless night it was; for they had received authentic news that a body of from thirty to forty Wádáy horsemen were to join their enemies that night, and to make a joint and last attack upon them, and they were well aware that the enemy had only been beaten from want of horses. All the horses remained saddled, and the whole night they sounded the watch-cry.

*October* 22*d.* The night passed on without the enemy appearing, and with the dawn of day the sign for decamping was given, when everybody endeavored to get in advance of his neighbor. The enemy, as was positively stated afterward, arrived there about an hour later, but, seeing that we were gone, did not choose to pursue us.

Thus we left the most interesting part of Kánem behind us, the country once so thickly studded with large, populous, and celebrated towns.

*Tuesday, October* 28*th.* Seeing that there was a caravan of people forming to go to Kúkawa, while the Arabs intended once more to return to Burka-drússo, we at once went to the chief to inform him that we had made up our minds to go with the caravan. A chief of the Haddáda, or rather Búngo, arrived with offerings of peace on the part of the Shíri, and came to see us, together with the chief, Kédl Batrám, who was the father-in-law of the khalífa of M'awó; Kóbber, or rather the head man of the Kóbber, and other great men of the Fugábú; and I amused them with my musical box. Overweg and I, disappointed in our expectations of penetrating farther eastward, prepared for our return journey, and I bought a small skin of tolerable dates for half a túrkedí, while to 'Abd-Allah, who had been our mediator with the chief, I made a present of a jeríd, in order not to remain his debtor.

All this time I felt very unwell, which I attribute principally to the great changes of atmosphere, the nights being cool and the days very warm.

*Sunday, November* 2*d.* The day of our departure from Kánem at length arrived. Sorry as we were to leave the

eastern shore of the lake unexplored, we convinced ourselves that the character of our mission did not allow us to risk our fate any longer by accompanying these freebooters. The camels we had taken with us on this expedition were so worn out that they were unable to carry even the little luggage we had left, and Sheikh Ghét made us a present of two camels, which, however, only proved sufficient for the short journey to Kúkawa, for the one fell a few paces from the northern gate on reaching the town, and the other a short distance from the southern gate on leaving it again on our expedition to Músgu.

The caravan with which we were to proceed was numerous, but the whole of the people were Kánembú, who carried their little luggage on pack-oxen and a few camels, while besides ourselves there were only two horsemen. But there were some respectable people among them, and even some women richly adorned with beads, and with their fine, regular features and slender forms, forming a strong contrast to the ugly physiognomy and square forms of the Bórnu females. The difference between the Bórnu and Kánembú is remarkable, although it is difficult to account for it by historical deduction.

We were so fortunate as to perform our home-journey without any serious accident, although we had some slight alarms.

## CHAPTER XV.

Dr. Barth joins another warlike expedition — Lamíno — March of the enemy — Conversation with the sheikh on slavery — Submission of a chief — The sheikh returns to Kúkawa — Prince A'dishén — Entering the Musgú country — Encampment in the forest — Singular water combat — Plundering and outrages by the Bórnu army — Spoil divided — The army returns to Kúkawa.

We reached Kúkawa on the 14th, having met on the road a party of about fifty Welád Slíman, who were proceeding to join their companions in Kánem. We were well received by our host, the Vizier of Bórnu.

We had already heard from the Governor of Yó that the sheikh and his vizier were about to leave in a few days on an expedition; and, being desirous of employing every means of becoming acquainted with new regions of this continent, we could not but avail ourselves of this opportunity, however difficult it was for us, owing to our entire want of means, to make the necessary preparations for another campaign, and although the destination of the expedition was not quite certain.

*November 25th*, 1851. Ten days after having returned to our head-quarters from the wearisome journey to Kánem, I left Kúkawa again in order to join a new warlike expedition.

The sheikh and his vizier, with the chief part of the army, had set out already the previous Saturday. The route had not yet been determined upon — it was, at least, not generally known: but Wándalá, or, as the Kanúri call it, Mándará, was mentioned as the direct object of the march, in order to enforce obedience from the prince of that small country, who, protected by its mountains, had behaved in a refractory manner. The chief motive of the enterprise, however, consisted in

the circumstance of the coffers and slave-rooms of the great men being empty; and, a new supply being wanted, from whence to obtain it was a question of minor importance. There was just then much talk about a final rupture between 'Abd e' Rahmán and the vizier, the former having intimate relations with the Prince of Mándará; and it was for that reason that Mr. Overweg had at first thought it better to remain behind.

My means were scanty in the extreme, and did not allow me to have a mounted servant, my camp-followers consisting merely of the same naga or "jíge," as the Kanúri call the female camel, which had proved of the highest value to me on the journey to Kánem, and of two very indifferent Fezzáni lads, weak in mind and body—Mohammed ben Habíb and Mohammed ben Ahmed.

The weather being temperate, and my spirits excellent, I followed cheerfully the Ngórnu road, with which I was well acquainted. I met with my friend Háj Edris and Shitima Makarémma, who were just returning from the camp. They told me that the sheikh had encamped that day at Kúkia, beyond Ngórnu. I therefore made a short halt at noon on this side of that town, in order to reach the camp during the evening without staying in the place; for the city, on all sides, at about an hour's distance, is almost entirely surrounded by fields devoid of trees. After I had enjoyed about an hour's rest, Overweg arrived with the disagreeable tidings that his camel, soon after leaving the gate, had fallen, and was unable to get up again even after the luggage had been removed. He therefore sent his servant Ibrahím in advance, in order to procure another camel from the vizier, while he remained with me. When we set out again we took the direct route to the camp, the road being enlivened by horsemen, camels, and pedestrians.

We soon obtained a first view of the camp with its tents; but it made no remarkable impression upon me, being still in an unfinished state, including only those people who were in the most intimate connection with the court.

The "ngáufate" having its fixed arrangements, our place was assigned near the tents of Lamíno, at some distance east from those of Háj Beshír. As the greater part of the courtiers were taking at least a portion of their harím with them to the "kerígu," a simple tent was not sufficient for them; but, by means of curtains made of striped cotton stuff, a certain space is encompassed in order to insure greater privacy. For the sheikh and the vizier, as long as we remained in the Bórnu territories, at every new encampment an inclosure of matting was erected; for it is not the custom, as has been asserted, to separate the royal camp from that of the rest, at least not on expeditions into a hostile country, nor has it been so in former times. The common soldiers had no further protection, except some light and small huts with high gables, which some of them had built with the tall stalks of the Indian corn, which lay in great abundance on the stubble-fields.

But I shall first say a few words about our friend Lamíno, whom I had already occasionally mentioned, and with whom on this expedition we came into closer contact. This man furnishes an example how, in this country, notwithstanding the immense difference of civilization, in reality matters take the same course as in Europe, where notorious rogues and sharpers often become the best police functionaries. Lamíno, originally "El Amín," had formerly been a much-dreaded highway robber, but had now become *chef de police*, or, as the Háusa people would say, "serkí-n-karfi," being, in consequence of his hard-heartedness and total want of the gentler feelings, of the greatest importance to the vizier, whose mild character did not allow him personally to adopt severe measures. Imprisoning people and ordering them to be whipped constituted one of Lamíno's chief pleasures.

*Wednesday, November 26th.* Early in the morning the signal for the decampment of the army was given in front of the tent of the sheikh by the sound of the great drum, and in broad battle-array ("báta") the army, with its host of cavalry, moved onward over the plain, which was covered with

tall reeds, and showed only here and there a few signs of cultivation.

This time I still remained with the camels and the train-oxen, which, mixed with pedestrians and some single horsemen in long unbounded lines, kept along the road, while single troops of Kánembú spearmen, in their light, fanciful garments, mostly consisting of a small apron of rags, or a hide tied round the loins, and armed with their light wooden shields, passed the luggage-train, shouting out in their wild native manner. Thus, after a march of about eleven miles, we reached the cotton-fields of Yédi, a town of considerable magnitude, surrounded by a clay wall in a state of good repair.

Our protector Lamíno afterward sent us an excellent dish of rice boiled in milk, and covered with bread and honey. The rice was of a whiteness unusual in this country. Having received likewise a dish of bread and honey from the vizier, we thought it our duty to pay him a visit, and, through his mediation, to the sheikh also. The sheikh had alighted at his spacious clay mansion outside the walls of the city, and he was just occupied with granting a grand reception to the townspeople.

After the usual exchange of compliments, our discourse turned upon Captain Denham, (Ráis Khalíl), who had once taken the same road in conjunction with Kashélla Bárka Ghaná, and with Bú-Khalúm. On this occasion also the manner in which old M'allem Shádeli or Chádeli, then a simple fáki, who was present, behaved toward that Christian was mentioned. We related to them what a faithful description Major Denham had given, in the narrative of his adventures, of the hostile disposition of the fáki, when the old m'allem, who was now one of the grandees of the empire, in order to revenge himself upon Major Denham and ourselves, described to the assembly, with sundry sarcastic hints, how he had seen the major, after his shameful defeat at Musfáya, half dead and stripped of his clothes, and exhibiting to uninitiated eyes all the insignia which mark the difference between the faithful and unfaithful. The whole spirit in which the story was told bore

evidence of the enlightened character and the tolerance of these gentlemen.

All the people behaved very friendly, and the sheikh sent us in the evening two sheep, a load of "ngáberí" or sorghum, besides two dishes of prepared food. We were also entertained by a young musician, who had accompanied Mr. Overweg during his voyage on the Tsád, and in this way there was no end of feasting. Nor was there any want of intellectual food, the inquisitive and restless vizier being desirous of learning from us as much as possible on this expedition, where he enjoyed plenty of leisure. Here we remained also the following day, as some more detachments were to join the army.

*Monday, December* 1*st.* Soon after starting, early in the morning we had to traverse some underwood, which caused a great rush and much confusion among the undisciplined army, so that two or three horsemen were seriously injured. On such occasions, as well as in the thick covert of the forest, I had full opportunity of testing the valuable properties of the Arab stirrups, which protect the whole leg, and, if skilfully managed, keep every obtruder at a respectful distance; indeed, I am almost sure that if, on these my African wanderings, I had made use of the English stirrups, I should have lost both my legs. Our way afterward led over monotonous fírki ground, where we were cheered by the sight of some fine crops of sorghum. Detached hamlets were seen in every direction, even where the country did not present any traces of cultivation; but, with the exception of the Shúwa villages, this province does not contain many small hamlets, the population being concentrated in larger places. Underwood succeeded to the fírki ground, and extended to the very walls of the large town of Díkowa.

The sight of this town, with its walls overtowered by the regularly-shaped crowns of magnificent fig-trees, was very imposing. The western wall, along which our road lay, was covered with women and children, and we met a numerous procession of females in their best attire, who were going to salute their sovereign upon his arrival at the encampment; and,

coming from the capital, which is distinguished by the ugliness of its female inhabitants, I was agreeably surprised at their superior countenance and figure. But, though the observer might be gratified with the personal appearance of the natives, their industry was questionable; for only a small tract of cultivated ground was to be seen on this side of the town, girt by a forest of mighty trees.

The encampment, or "ngáufate," began to form close to the southern wall of the town, amid sandy ground free from trees, and completely surrounded by a thick covert. Although it was December, the sun was very powerful; and, until the camels arrived, I sat down in the shade of a "bíto" or *Balanites*, while the encampment was spreading out in all directions, and approached the edge of the covert. I then gave up my shady place to Kashélla Játo, an officer of the musketeers, who, in acknowledgement, offered me a clear piece of delicious gum, just taken from the tree and full of sweet fluid, in which state it is certainly a delicacy, and is so esteemed here as well as in Western Negroland. The encampment springing up gradually from the ground, with its variety of light dwellings built only for the moment; the multifarious appearance of armed people; the numbers of horses of all colors, some of the most exquisite beauty; the uninterrupted train of beasts of burden, camels, and pack-oxen, laden with the tents, furniture, and provisions, and mounted by the wives and concubines of the different chiefs, well dressed and veiled, altogether presented a most interesting picture; for now almost the whole host, or "kebú," had collected, and twenty thousand men, with ten thousand horses, and at least as many beasts of burden, were no doubt assembled on this spot.

At length our two tents also were pitched, and we could make ourselves as comfortable as the scanty shade which they afforded allowed us.

In the evening, our conversation with the vizier turning upon the means which remained for Bórnu to attain once more to her former greatness, these devastating expeditions and slave-hunts fell under discussion, and I took the liberty to indi-

cate, in opposition to such a system, the necessity of a well-established government, with a strong military force capable of extending their dominion. I also called the attention of the vizier to the point that, as they could never rely upon the Turks, who might easily cut off all supplies of foreign merchandise, it was greatly to their interest to keep open to themselves that large river which passed a short distance to the south of their dominions, and which would enable them to supply themselves with every kind of European manufacture at a much cheaper rate than they were able to obtain them by the northern route. He did not hesitate to throw the whole blame upon the former sultans; but those poor men, when they possessed the dominion of the Kwána tribe, probably had no idea that the river which ran through their territory joined the sea; and even if they had, the relation between Islám and Christianity at that period was of so hostile a character that, for the very reason that this stream might open to the Christians a more easy access to their country, they shunned any nearer connection with it as dangerous. However, under the present entirely altered state of affairs, there is no question that an energetic native chief, basing his power on a supply of European merchandise, as facilitated by the River Bénuwé, might easily dominate a great part of Central Africa; but energy is just the very thing these people are wanting in.

From this point of our discourse there was an easy transition to that of the abolition of slavery; and here my late lamented friend, Mr. Overweg, made a most eloquent speech on this important question. The vizier could not bring forward any other argument in his defence than that the slave-trade furnished them with the means of buying muskets; and, lamentable as it is, this is certainly the correct view of the subject, for even on the west coast the slave-trade originated in the cupidity of the natives in purchasing the arms of Europeans. Such is the history of civilization! If the poor natives of Africa had never become acquainted with this destructive implement of European ingenuity, the slave-trade would never

have reached those gigantic proportions which it has attained; for at first the natives of Africa wanted fire-arms as the surest means of securing their independence of, and superiority over their neighbors; but in the further course of affairs, these instruments of destruction became necessary because they enabled them to hunt down less favored tribes, and, with a supply of slaves so obtained, to procure for themselves those luxuries of European civilization with which they had likewise become acquainted. This is the great debt which the European owes to the poor African, that after having caused, or at least increased, this nefarious system on his first bringing the natives of those regions into contact with his state of civilization, which has had scarcely any but a demoralizing effect, he ought now also to make them acquainted with the beneficial effects of that state of society. Entering, therefore, into the views of our hosts, I told them that their country produced many other things which they might exchange for fire-arms, without being forced to lay waste the whole of the neighboring countries, and to bring misery and distress upon so many thousands.

I informed them of the last negotiations of her Britannic majesty's messengers with the King of Dahomé, when our friend, listening with the greatest interest to the account of these noble endeavors of her majesty's government, which he could not but admire, declared, in the most distinct manner, that if the British government were able to furnish them with a thousand muskets and four cannons, they would be willing to subscribe any obligatory article for abolishing the slave-trade in their country—of course not including, all at once, domestic slavery, for such a measure would scarcely be feasible in a country where all the relations of domestic life are based upon this system. But the abolition of the foreign slave-trade would be the beginning of a better system. However, I told them that, supposing government were to entertain such a proposal, the first thing for them to do was to open themselves a road to the River Bénuwé, as it would be difficult, not only with respect to the state of the country to be traversed, but also on

account of the suspicions of the Turks, to provide them with such a military store by way of the desert. But at present this whole question has been superseded; the vizier himself has succumbed, and his master, the Sheikh 'Omár, although he has been fortunate enough once more to usurp the sovereign authority, seems scarcely sufficient to hold out any guaranty of the stability of his dynasty. Moreover, the slave-trade at present is, in fact, abolished on the north coast; and this circumstance must eventually exercise a great influence over the destinies of Bórnu, on account of its central situation, especially if at length a regular intercourse be established on the River Bénuwé.

It was our lot to remain here several days; for while the Kanúri people, who were expected to join the expedition, had assembled in sufficient numbers, only a very small portion of the indigenous Arab or Shúwa population had as yet come up; for almost all of them live in the south-eastern parts of the country, where they have taken possession of the deserted seats of former tribes, which were annihilated or weakened in the relentless wars between Islamism and Paganism.

[The army marched towards Mándará, without any incident of importance. On the 10th of December, while at Díggera, the travellers had an opportunity of returning to Kúkâwa with the sheikh, but they preferred remaining with the army, of which the vizier now became commander-in-chief.]

Here in Díggera, where we were only one good day's march distant from the capital of Mándará, our friends were obliged to come to a decision upon the future destination of the expedition. After the news which had arrived some days previously that the petty chief of Mándará, whose ancestor had once completely defeated a countless host of the Bórnu people, had decided upon making resistance, they had been very silent and dejected, and were therefore extremely delighted when at length, to-day, a servant of the obstinate vassal made his appearance with a present of ten beautiful female slaves and the offer of complete submission. So at least we were told; but the affair seemed very doubtful, and a native of Mándará, or,

*Interior of a Musgu Dwelling.*

as they say, A'r-Wándalá, afterward assured me that his master, the powerful "Tuksé" of Khakhúndala, had been so far from making his submission to the insolent "Móthaké" (by this name they call the Bórnu people), that, on the contrary, he treated them with contempt. Which of the two assertions was correct I do not know; but it is probable that the chief of Mándará thought it prudent to consent to some sort of compromise, perhaps through the intermediation of 'Abd e' Rahmán, the sheikh's brother.

Whatever may have been the case, the vizier informed us in the evening, in a very cheerful manner, that the affair with Mándará had taken the most favorable turn, and that, in consequence, the sheikh, with a small part of the army, was to retrace his steps, while he himself, with the far larger portion, was to undertake an expedition into the Músgu country, and that we, of course, were to accompany him. Now we were well aware that the object of this expedition was partly to make slaves, and that, in our character as messengers of the British-government, we ought to endeavor to keep aloof from anything connected with the infamous subject of slavery; but as we could not hinder it if we kept back, and as, by accompanying the expedition, we might prevent a deal of mischief, and might likewise have a fair opportunity of convincing ourselves whether what was related of the cruelty of the Mohammedans in these expeditions was true or exaggerated, we decided upon accompanying the vizier. At the same time, it was of the utmost importance to visit that very region which was the object of the expedition, as it was the only way to decide upon the relation between the central basin of the Tsád and the great western river, with its eastern branch, while there was no possibility of visiting it by ourselves. We had already convinced ourselves that the country of the Músgu is not, as Major Denham has represented it, a mountainous, inaccessible tract; but we were puzzled at the number of water-courses of which our informants had spoken, and we could not have the least idea how fertile a country it was, and how far remote its inhabitants were from that state of barbarism which had been

imputed to them. We therefore, although reluctantly, and not without scruple, at length determined upon accompanying the expedition; and I hope that every considerate person who takes into account all the circumstances in which we were placed will approve of our resolution.

*Wednesday, December* 17*th.* At length we proceeded onward, entering new regions never trodden by European foot. Our departure having been delayed in the morning, owing to the separating of the army, we started rather late, leaving the sheikh, with the rest of the "kebú," behind.

*Thursday, December* 18*th.* Seeing that we were now entirely in the hands of the vizier, my companion and I used to present ourselves at his tent every morning, and to ride for some time near him. I, however, soon found it pleasanter to keep more in the rear of the army, a little in advance of his female slaves; and in the narrow paths in the midst of the forest, where the crowding became very disagreeable, I used to keep behind his led horses. Of female slaves on horseback and led horses the vizier had with him the moderate number of eight of each kind, while the sheikh had twelve; but this appeared to me a small number when I afterward saw the King of Bagírmi returning from the expedition with a string of forty-five mounted female partners. These black damsels were all clothed in white woolen bernúses, with their faces completely veiled, and were closely watched.

*Tuesday, December* 23*d.* Three heavy strokes upon the drum, at the dawn of day, set our motley host once more in motion. It was an important day, and many of the principal people had exchanged their common dress for a more splendid attire. We entered the Músgu country, and at the same time came into contact with fragments of that nation who, having spread from the far west over one half of Africa, are restlessly pushing forward and overwhelming the pagan tribes in the interior. These are the Fúlbe or Felláta, the most interesting of all African tribes, who, having been driven from Bórnu, have here laid the foundation of a new empire.

Twice on our march we were obliged to make a halt: the

first time owing to the arrival of A'dishén, the Músgu chief, with a troop of naked horsemen mounted on a breed of small, unseemly, but strong ponies, without saddles and bridles, and presenting altogether a most barbarous and savage spectacle. The second halt was caused by the appearance of a Púllo or Felláta chief, with two hundred horsemen of his nation, who, by their shirts and shawls, their saddles and bridles, certainly claimed a higher degree of civilization, but who, nevertheless, were far from exhibiting a grand appearance. The chief was an officer of Khúrsu, the ruler of the town or principality of Fétte or Pétte, which we had left at a short distance to the west. He came to join this expedition, the object of which was to weaken the Músgu tribes, who, behind their natural defences of rivers and swamps, had hitherto been able to maintain their independence.

Of course, on this occasion the policy of these Fúlbe chiefs went hand in hand with that of the Bórnu people, although it is not a little remarkable, and serves to show the slight political unity existing between the integral parts of these empires, that while the Governor of A'damáwa was at present on a hostile footing with the ruler of Bórnu, one of his vassals was allowed to enter into an alliance with the latter.

After these interruptions we pursued our march, and reached, about half an hour before noon, the northernmost of the Músgu villages, which is called Gábari, surrounded by rich fields of native grain; but everything presented a sad appearance of pillage and desolation. None of the inhabitants were to be seen; for although subjects of A'dishén, who enjoyed the friendship and protection of the rulers of Bórnu, they had thought it more prudent to take care of their own safety by flight than to trust themselves to the discretion of the undisciplined army of their friends and protectors. The preceding evening the order had been issued through the encampment that all the property in the villages of A'dishén should be respected, and nothing touched, from a cow to a fowl, grain only excepted, which was declared to be at the disposal of everybody.

After a march of little less than five miles, we emerged from

the thick forest, and entered upon stubble-fields with numerous groups of huts and wide-spreading trees, whose branches were all used for storing up the ranks of nutritious grass of these swampy grounds for a supply in the dry season. The country was pleasant in the extreme.

But there was one object which attracted my attention in particular, as it testified to a certain degree of civilization, which might have shamed the proud Mohammedan inhabitants of these countries; for, while the latter are extremely negligent in burying their dead, leaving them without any sufficient protection against the wild beasts, so that most of them are devoured in a few days by the hyenas, here we had regular sepulchres, covered in with large, well-rounded vaults, the tops of which were adorned by a couple of beams cross-laid, or by an earthen urn.

I was so absorbed in contemplating this interesting scene, that I entirely forgot my own personal safety; for the vizier, without my becoming aware of it, had pursued the track on his powerful charger at an uncommonly quick rate, and was far in advance. Looking around me, I found only a small number of Shúwa horsemen near me, and, keeping close to them, pursued the path; but when we emerged from the thick forest, and entered another well-cultivated and thickly-peopled district, every trace of a trodden footpath ceased, and I became aware that I was entirely cut off from the main body of the army. A scene of wild disorder here presented itself. Single horsemen were roving about to and fro between the fences of the villages; here a poor native, pursued by sanguinary foes, running for his life in wild despair; there another dragged from his place of refuge; while a third was observed in the thick cover of a ficus, and soon became a mark for numerous arrows and balls. A small troop of Shúwa horsemen were collected under the shade of a tree, trying to keep together a drove of cattle which they had taken. In vain did I address Shúwa and Kanúri, anxiously inquiring what direction the commander-in-chief had taken; nobody was able to give me any information with regard to his whereabouts. I therefore

scoured the village in all directions, to see if I could find by myself the track of the army, but the traces ran in every direction.

Here I fell in with several troops of horsemen, in the same state of uncertainty as myself, and joined one of them, where there were some heavy cavalry; neither the attendants of the vizier nor the man who carried his carpet could tell which direction he had taken. While anxiously looking about, I suddenly heard behind us the beating of a drum or "gánga," and, following the sound, found a considerable number of horsemen of every description collected on an open area; and here I received the exciting news that the pagans had broken through the line of march at the weakest point, and that, while the vizier had pursued his track, the rear had been dispersed. If these poor pagans, who certainly are not wanting in courage, were led on by experienced chieftains, and waited for the proper opportunity, they would be able in these dense forests, where cavalry is scarcely of any use, to do an immense deal of damage to this cowardly host, and might easily disperse them altogether. But the principal reason of the weakness of these Músgu tribes is that they have only spears and the "góliyó," and no arrows, else they would certainly be able to keep these troublesome neighbors at a respectful distance. Of what little use even the firelock is to the latter, I had ample opportunity of judging, several musketeers having come to me anxiously entreating me to provide them with flints, as their own had been lost or had proved useless.

At length the motley host moved on without order or array; but their irresolution and fear, owing to a few pagans who were concealed in a thicket, were so great, that after a while we retraced our steps. Having then taken a more easterly direction, we reached, through a thick forest, a large, swampy piece of water in low meadow-grounds, not less than a mile in breadth, covered with rank grass, the dry ground in some places intervening. Here I found a considerable part of the cavalry drawn up in a long line and watering their horses, and I learned that the encampment was near. It would have been

very unsatisfactory to be exposed to a serious attack in the company of the disorderly host in which I had lately found myself.

Having watered my horse, I followed the deep sound of the big drum of the vizier, and found the body of the army a few hundred yards from the eastern border of this ngáljam, in rich stubble-fields shaded by beautiful trees; but as yet no tent was pitched, and a great deal of anxiety prevailed, the first camels having arrived without their loads, which they had thrown off, their drivers having taken to flight; but this circumstance insured the safety of the greater part of the train, as the commander immediately dispatched two officers with their squadrons to bring up the rear. To this circumstance we are indebted for the safety of our own camels, which had been in imminent danger, the pagans having collected again in the rear of the principal body of the army.

The Bórnu camels are half mehára, and, while they surpass in strength the camels of the desert, possess a great deal of their swiftness. Not only does the camel which carries the war-drum always follow close behind the commander, at whatever rate he may pursue his march, but even his other camels generally keep at a very short distance, and the best camels of the courtiers follow close behind.

The village we had just reached was named Kákalá, and is one of the most considerable places in the Músgu country. A large number of slaves had been caught this day, and in the course of the evening, after some skirmishing, in which three Bórnu horsemen were killed, a great many more were brought in; altogether they were said to have taken one thousand, and there were certainly not less than five hundred. To our utmost horror, not less than one hundred and seventy full-grown men were mercilessly slaughtered in cold blood, the greater part of them being allowed to bleed to death, a leg having been severed from the body.

*Monday, December 29th.* Soon after setting out from the place of encampment we had to cross the ngáljam, which here, also, was thickly overgrown with rank grass, and the passage

of which was very difficult, owing to the countless holes caused by the footprints of the elephant. We then entered a dense forest, where I saw again, for the first time, my old Háusa acquaintance, the kókia, a middle-sized tree with large leaves and with a fruit of the size of an apple, which at present was green, but even when ripe is not edible. This tree, in the course of the expedition, I found to be very common in the wilds of this country.

The unwarlike spirit of our large army became more apparent than ever by to-day's proceedings, for a vigorous commander would certainly have accelerated his march through this forest, in order to take the enemy unawares; but long before noon a halt was ordered in the midst of the forest — certainly against the inclination of the majority. There was a great deal of indecision, and, in truth, there seemed to be many who wished rather that the enemy should have time to escape than to incite him to make a desperate struggle for his safety. The neighboring pond (where, on our arrival, a herdsman who had come to water his cattle had been slain), we were told, did not contain a sufficient supply of water for the wants of the whole army; and when at length we had fairly dismounted, the rank grass being burned down in order to clear the ground, and the fire being fed by a strong wind, a terrible conflagration ensued, which threw us into the greatest confusion, and obliged us to seek our safety in a hasty retreat. Nevertheless, after a great deal of hesitation, it was at length determined to encamp here. There was no scarcity of water, for the pond proved to be very spacious and of great depth; but the grass having been burned, the whole ground was covered with a layer of hot ashes, which blackened everything.

By-and-by the camels arrived, the encampment was formed, and every one had given himself up to repose of mind and body, when suddenly the alarm-drums were beaten, and everybody hastened to arms and mounted his horse. It seemed incredible that an enemy whose movements were uncombined, and not directed by any good leaders, should attack such an

army, of more than 10,000 cavalry and a still greater number of foot, although I am persuaded that a resolute attack of a few hundred brave men would have defeated the whole of this vain and cowardly host. The alarm, as was to be expected, proved unfounded; but it showed the small degree of confidence which the people had in their own strength. Three pagan women had been seen endeavoring to reach the water by stealth, and this gave rise to the conclusion that the enemy was near, for the dense forest all around hemmed in the view entirely.

[The incursion into the Músgu country resulted in the submission of the pagan prince of Démmo, a Músgu chief, who promised to lead the army to the conquest of a rich walled city, but only led them into swamps and water-courses. The following incident is characteristic of this barbarous and contemptible war. The date is January 2d, 1853.]

The whole army was in such a mood as to be glad to find any object on which to vent its anger; and such a one soon presented itself; for, when we reached a water-course, and were watering our horses, four natives were seen, who, evidently confiding in their courage and their skill in swimming, had here taken refuge in the deepest part of the water, in order to give information to their countrymen of the retreat of the enemy. As soon as our friends caught sight of this little troop of heroes, they determined to sacrifice them to their vengeance. With this view, the whole of the cavalry arranged themselves in close lines on each side of the water. But the task was not so easy as it appeared at first, and all the firing of the bad marksmen was in vain, the Músgu diving with remarkable agility. When the vizier saw that in this way these heroes could not be overpowered, he ordered some Kánembú to enter the water; and a very singular kind of combat arose, the like of which I had never seen before, and which required an immense deal of energy; for, while these people had to sustain themselves above the water with the help of their feet, they had, at the same time, to jump up, throw the spear, and parry the thrusts

of their adversaries. The poor Músgu people, on their side, were not only fighting for their lives, but even, as it were, for their national honor. They were of large and muscular frame, single-handed far superior to the Kánembú; but at length, after a protracted struggle, the superior numbers of the Kánembú got the upper hand, and the corpses of three of the Músgu were seen swimming on the surface of the water. But the fourth and last appeared to be invincible, and the Kánembú, who had lost two of their companions, gave him up in despair.

After this inglorious victory we pursued our march homeward, keeping a little more to the north than when we came. This part of the country exhibited the same fertile and pleasant character as that we had seen before. It was densely inhabited and well cultivated, even tobacco being grown to a great extent. As for the villages themselves, they afforded the same appearance of comfort and cheerfulness which we had observed in the others. But all these abodes of human happiness were destroyed by fire.

After having accomplished these great deeds, we returned to our encampment. Here we remained during the two following days, while the most important business was transacted. This was the partition of the slaves who had been taken during the expedition; and the proceeding was accompanied by the most heart-rending scenes, caused by the number of young children, and even infants, who were to be distributed, many of these poor creatures being mercilessly torn away from their mothers, never to see them again. There were scarcely any full-grown men.

[Three days after this affair, without accomplishing anything more, the army of Bórnu began its march homeward.]

*January 9th.* The whole district in which we had been roving about since the 30th of December belongs to Wúliya, which is certainly one of the most fertile and best-irrigated regions in the world.

A desolate border district, consisting at times of green swampy ground uprooted by the footprints of the elephant,

and on this account affording a very difficult passage for cavalry, at others of dense forest, the one following the other in rapid succession, separated Wúliya from another principality of the name of Bárea, and inhabited by a tribe of the Músgu of the name of A'bare. It was characteristic of the little peaceful intercourse which exists among these various petty tribes that the A'bare did not seem to have had the slightest information of the approach of the expedition till we suddenly came upon them through the dense forest, so that they had scarcely time to escape with their families from the village, and endeavor to hide themselves in the dense covert of the forest toward the east. They were pursued and overpowered, after a short resistance, by the continually increasing numbers of the enemy, and the booty of that day, chiefly in cattle, was rather considerable. Slaves were also brought in in considerable numbers, principally young boys and girls. The distance of the field of battle spared us the sight of the slaughter of the full-grown men.

[Before re-entering the Bórnu territory, the spoil was divided, amounting to 10,000 head of cattle and 3000 slaves. The army reached Kúkawa on the 1st of February.]

*February* 1*st*. On our re-entering the capital there was a good deal of ceremony and etiquette observed, when the whole army, at least that part which had not yet been disbanded, was formed into one compact line of battle, in order to receive in a suitable manner the military salutes which were paid to the commander-in-chief on his successful return. Returning to our old quarters in the town, we were treated with a peculiar dainty of the Kanúri, consisting of the fresh seeds of the grain called masr (*Zea maïs*), which are roasted in a peculiar way.

Thus ended this expedition, which opened to us a slight glimpse into the richly-watered zone of the equatorial regions, which had been supposed to form an insurmountable barrier of a high mountain chain, and brought us into contact with tribes whose character had been represented as almost approaching to that of wild beasts. We had certainly not entered those regions under such circumstances as were most desirable to us,

but, on the contrary, we had been obliged to associate ourselves with an army whose only purpose was to spread devastation and misery over them. Nevertheless, situated as we were, while we could not prevent this mischief, we were glad that we had been enabled to see so much. We were without any means, no further supplies having arrived; but I did not despair, and in order still to be able to try my fortune once more in another direction before I returned home, besides other articles, I even sold my large tent, and employed part of the proceeds to line my small tent, which was fast wearing out, and neither excluded rain nor sun.

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## CHAPTER XVI.

Setting out for Bagírmi—Arrival at Kála—Logón—Leaving Logón—The Shari river—Not allowed to cross the river, Dr. Barth eludes the guard, crosses the river and enters Bagírmi — Sends a Message to the Capital —Unfavorable Answer — Residence at Bakada — Attempt to leave Bagírmi — Dr. Barth is arrested and put in irons — Again set Free — Arrival at the Capital — Interview with Lieutenant-Governor Faki Sambo — Dr. Barth suspected to be a rain-maker — The Ladies.

I HAD returned to the town on the 1st of February, 1852; on the 4th of March I again set out on a journey to Bagírmi. However, I did not feel very confident as to the success of my enterprise. The Sultan of Bagírmi was reported as being absent from his capital on an expedition to the southeast of his dominions, but I was given to understand that there would be no great difficulty in addressing myself to the lieutenant-governor, whom he had left to represent him in his absence, in order to be allowed to join him, and to be thus enabled to explore those more southern regions which by myself I had no prospect of visiting. I introduced myself, accordingly, to the agent of that prince, who resides in Kúkawa. This man is a eunuch, who was made prisoner by the Kanúri in the second

battle of Ngála, and had risen to the dignity of mestréma or first eunuch of the Sultan of Bórnu. But, although I made him a small present, he received me rather coolly, and did not inspire me with much confidence as to my ultimate success.

I had exhausted my means entirely, having been obliged to purchase at high prices, for credit, even the very small supply of presents which I was able to take with me. I had only two very indifferent servants, Mohammed ben Habíb and Mohammed ben A'hmed, both young lads from Fezzán, as limited in their intelligence as they were conceited in their pretensions as Moslemín, and not possessing the least knowledge of the country which we were about to visit.

The only animals I had for my conveyance were a horse and a she-camel. Hence I did not set out with that spirit of confidence which insures success; but, having determined to return to Europe if new supplies did not very soon arrive, I resolved to make a last desperate attempt to accomplish something before I finally left the country.

Mr. Overweg accompanied me as far as Ngórnu, where we took up our quarters with my friend the Kashélla Kótokó. Here, in my present destitute condition, I was greatly delighted at receiving, by private message from the vizier, a small parcel of coffee, and from the M'allem Mohammed a loaf of sugar. Such tokens of disinterested friendship are very gratifying to the traveller in a foreign land.

*Friday, March 5th.* At the beginning of the cotton-plantation I took leave of my European companion. He was to make an excursion, accompanied by Kótokó, along the shores of the lake toward Máduwári — the very place where, in the course of a few months, he was destined to succumb.

[On the 7th of March Dr. Barth reached Ngola, in the province of Kótokó, on the 10th Afades, the largest town of Kótokó, and on the 12th Kala.]

Kála is the first town of the territory of Logón or Lógone, the boundary of which we had crossed a short time before. Having entered the town through an extremely narrow gate, which scarcely allowed my bare and slender she-camel to pass

through after having taken from her back the whole load, I was struck with the very different aspect it exhibited from the regions we had just left; for, while the dwellings testified to a certain degree of civilization, the inhabitants themselves seemed to approach nearer to the pagans than to the Mohammedans. We had scarcely entered the town when we were surrounded by a troop of boys and young lads from seven to twelve years of age, tall and well built, and in a state of entire nudity, a thing hardly ever seen in the country of Bórnu, even with slaves. The type of their features, however, was very different from the general type observed in the Bórnu people, and seemed to indicate more intelligence and cunning. I have already observed, in the country of Músgu, how the state of the dwellings contrasts with the apparel, or rather the want of apparel, of the people themselves; but here it seemed more remarkable, for the dwellings in general did not consist of round conical huts, but of spacious oblong houses of clay of considerable elevation. I was quartered in one of these structures, but found it rather close and full of dust.

*March* 13*th*. We entered the capital of Logón — Logón Bírni, or Kárnak Lóggon, as it is called by the Shúwa, or Kárnak Lógone or Lóggene, as it is called by the Kanúri. The town on this side, (the northwestern) has only one gate; and it was so narrow that we were obliged to unload the camel before we were able to pass through. The energy and activity of this place is naturally concentrated on the eastern side toward the river, where it has seven gates.

The interior of the town, where we entered it, had not a very animated appearance. The cottages, belonging evidently to the poorer classes of people, are in a wretched condition, and the only animation which the scenery presented was due to a group of dúm-palms, towering over this poor quarter from the north side. The character of the place improved, however, as we advanced; the streets were tolerably large, and I was struck with the appearance of the principal street or déndal, which is formed by the palace of the sultan or míyara, toward

the south, and the house of the Kenghámma or Ibálaghwán, toward the north.

[Dr. Barth staid till the 16th of March in this place, visited Míyará Y'suf, the Sultan of Logón, and made an excursion on the river Logón, on which the town is built. This river is a branch of the Shárí.]

*March 15th.* It was ten o'clock in the morning when I left Kárnak Logón in order to penetrate into unknown regions, never before trodden by European foot; and a short time afterward I was sitting in the boat, while our horses, the camel, and the bullock were partly swimming across and partly fording the river. The water was in general shallow, though in the deepest place it measured eight feet and a half. The current was about three miles an hour.

These shallow water-courses are, as I have already had occasion to mention on my journey to Músgu, one of the most characteristic features in this part of Central Africa, which was thought to be a dry, elevated waste. Naked young lads were splashing and playing about in the water, together with wild hogs, in the greatest harmony; never in any part of Negroland have I seen this animal in such numbers as here about the Shárí. Calves and goats were pasturing in the fields, with wild hogs in the midst of them.

When we pursued our march at two o'clock in the afternoon, I was greatly pleased to see numbers of fine horses round the groups of Shúwa villages which bordered the water-course, while the whole scenery was enlivened by the rich foliage of wide-spreading trees.

*Wednesday, March 17th.* We continued our march alone. On the east side of the town a little cultivation was to be seen, the country here being very swampy, and inundated during the rainy season. It is covered with a dense jungle, and wild beasts in great numbers. Water is close under the surface of the ground, and the well that we passed, near a Shúwa village, was only three fathoms deep. Near the village of Atmarchári, which we left on our right, there were traces of cultivation, trees being cut down and the ground cleared to make room for

corn-fields; the village is inhabited by Kanúri people. Soon after, the forest became denser than before, climbing plants running up the trees, and hanging down in festoons from the branches. Here it was that I first saw the footprints of the rhinoceros, an animal which is unheard of in all the western parts of Negroland. The people of this part of Logón call the animal "bírní," the name usual in Bagírmi, while the real name in the language of the country is "ngirmé." The Kanúri call it "kárgadán" or "barkaján"—the very name already mentioned by El Edrísi. It is greatly feared by the inhabitants, who sometimes encounter these ferocious animals on the narrow footpaths which wind through the thick forests of their country.

I had gone on a little in advance, when suddenly I beheld through the branches of the trees the splendid sheet of a large river, far larger than that of Logón. All was silence, and the pellucid surface of the water undisturbed by the slightest breeze; no vestiges of human or animal life were to be seen, with the exception of two river-horses (called "niyé" by the people of Logón), which, having been basking in the sun on the shore, plunged into the water at our approach. This, then, was the real Shárí, that is to say, the great river of the Kótokó (for Shárí means nothing else but river), which, augmented by the smaller but very considerable River of Logón, forms that large basin which gives to this part of Negroland its characteristic feature. The river at this spot runs from S. 30° W. to N. 30° E., but its general course is rather winding, coming farther upward from the south, and beyond forming a reach from E. 38° N.

The shore where I stood enjoying the tranquil but beautiful scenery is closely approached by the forest, and has an elevation of about fifteen feet. No human habitation was to be seen, with the exception of a small village on the other side. The surface of the water was undisturbed, except now and then by a fish leaping up; no water-fowl enlivened the banks; not a single boat was to be seen, till at length we observed the ferrymen on the opposite shore, where it formed a flat and sandy

beach, making us a sign that we were to proceed a little higher up the river, in order not to miss the landing-place when carried down by the current. We therefore went about 800 yards further up; and I made myself comfortable under the shade of a tree, awaiting the boat, and indulging in the thought that I was soon to enter a new country, never before trodden by European foot.

At length the boat came, but the ferrymen, as soon as they saw who we were, behaved in a strange and mysterious manner, and told us they could not take us across the river before they had informed their master. However uncommon such a precaution seemed to be, I had as yet no idea of the real state of affairs. We therefore sat down patiently to await the answer, which we thought a mere matter of form.

While we were chatting together the boatmen returned, bringing with them the astounding answer that the chief of the village, A'su, would not allow me to cross the river.

We could at first scarcely imagine what was the reason of this unforseen obstacle, when the boatman informed us that Háj A'hmed, the head man of those Bagírmi people whom I have mentioned as returning from Kúkawa to their native country, had assured them that I was a most dangerous person, and that the Vizier of Bórnu himself had told them there was great danger that, if I should enter the country of Bagírmi in the absence of the sultan, I might upset his throne and ruin his kingdom. As there were some of the chief men of the village in the boat, we used every means to convince them of the absurdity of such calumnies; but all was in vain, and it became evident that we should certainly not be allowed to cross the river at this spot.

[Dr. Barth succeeded in crossing the river at another point and entering the territory of Bagírmi, he passed a short time at Mélé, on the Shárí, whence he sent a trooper to the capital of Bagírmi, to obtain the sultan's permission to reside in the country.]

*Thursday, March 24th.* It was about noon when, to my great delight, my trooper Gréma 'Abdú returned from his

errand. He was accompanied by two attendants of the Zérma, or rather Kadamánge, the lieutenant-governor whom the sultan had left during his absence in command of the capital. I was disappointed, however, in my expectation that I should be allowed, without further delay, to reach the capital myself, for the messengers produced a document, provided with a large black seal, to the effect that I was to await the answer of the sultan in Búgomán, a place higher up the river, the inhabitants of which, together with those of a neighboring town, called Mískin, were to provide me with fresh fish and milk during my stay there. Although anxious to join the sultan himself, I had nothing to object to such an arrangement, and was glad to move on, if it were only a little.

*March 28th.* At an early hour we pursued our march, approaching the town of Búgomán, where I was to await further orders from the sultan. The country exhibited signs of considerable elevation, and numerous farming hamlets, called "yówëó" by the Bagírmi people, were spread about; at present, however, they were tenantless, being only inhabited during the rainy season by the "field hands," as an American would say.

After a march of about four miles, and having passed a swampy meadow-ground with numerous traces of the rhinoceros, we again stood on the banks of the great river of Bagírmi, the Shárí or Bá.

My escort, together with the two servants of Zérma, had gone into the town to announce my arrival, and to inform the head man of the order of the lieutenant-governor, that I was to await here the commands of the sultan; but no answer came. In vain did I endeavor to protect myself from the burning rays of the sun by forming a temporary shelter of my carpet; for the sun in these climes is never more severe than just before the setting in of the rainy season, and we had generally at two o'clock between 106° and 110°. As noon passed by I grew impatient, especially as I had nothing to eat, there being no firewood even for cooking a very simple meal.

At length, a little before three o'clock, my messengers re-

turned, and their countenances indicated that they were not the bearers of satisfactory news. The Governor of Búgomán refused obedience to the direct order of his lord, the Sultan of Bagírmi, and declined receiving me into the town. Nothing was left but to retrace our steps to the village Matuwárí, where we had been so hospitably entertained.

Here we remained the following morning, and I had sufficient time to reflect on my condition in this country. There could not be the least doubt that the greater part of the inhabitants were unfavorably inclined toward the stranger; and I was persuaded that the best course for me to pursue would be to return to Logón, and there quietly await the answer of the sultan; but my companions were not of my opinion, and assured me I was not at liberty to leave the country after I had once entered it. It was therefore decided that we should proceed in the direction of the capital, and make our further proceedings dependent upon circumstances.

[The doctor now proceeded towards the capital and sent forward his trooper Gréma again, to obtain the sultan's permission to remain in the country. The sultan himself was absent from the capital on a military expedition; and the lieutenant-governor had the direction of affairs at the capital. While waiting the return of Gréma, the doctor staid at Bakada with the Háj Bu Báher.]

Meanwhile I waxed impatient. At length, on the evening of the 6th of April, my escort Gréma (whom on the last day of March I had sent to the capital to bring me a decisive answer without delay) returned with a message of the lieutenant-governor — not, however, to grant either of my requests, but rather to induce me to wait patiently till an answer should arrive from the sultan himself. In order that I might not starve in the meanwhile, they brought me a sheep and a shirt, with which I might buy provision in some neighboring village; but as there was nothing to be got besides millet and sorghum, I declared it to be absolutely necessary for me either to be admitted into the capital or to retrace my steps. I requested Gréma to stay with me; but he pretended he was obliged to

return to the town, where his servant lay sick. Not suspecting that he wanted to leave me alone, and to join the sultan on the expedition, I allowed him to go, and resolved to wait a few days in patience. But, restless and impatient as I was, the delay pressed heavily upon me; and when, on the 13th, my kind and amiable host, Bú-Bakr Sadik, himself went to the capital, I had nothing to calm my disquietude. Through my host, I had once more addressed myself to the lieutenant-governor, requesting to be admitted into the capital without further delay; and Bú-Bakr had promised me, in the most distinct terms, that before Thursday night, which was the 15th, I should have a decisive answer. Having only one weak camel to carry my luggage, I had taken scarcely any books with me on this excursion to Bagírmi, and the little information which I had been able to gather was not sufficient to give my restless spirit its proper nourishment, and I felt, therefore, mentally depressed. The consequence was, that when Thursday night passed away, and neither Bú-Bakr himself arrived, nor any message from him, I determined to put my threat into execution, and to retrace my steps the following morning.

*Friday, April, 16th.* As soon as day dawned I arose to prepare for my departure. The sky was overcast, and a little rain fell, which caused some delay; but as soon as it ceased I got my camel ready and my horse saddled. Several of the relations and friends of Bú-Bakr endeavored to persuade me to remain, but my determination was too fixed; and, pointing at the disgraceful manner in which I had been treated in this country, I mounted my horse and rode off. My three servants, themselves dissatisfied with the treatment they had received, followed sullenly.

[On the 18th, missing his intended road, the Doctor found himself at Kókoroché, and as he had already been in this place he had reason to fear that he should here be detained.]

Determined to put a bold face upon matters, I ordered my people to slaughter a sheep, and made myself as comfortable as possible, spreading my carpet, damaged as it was by the ants in Bákadá, upon the ground, and assuming the appearance of

being quite at my ease. At that time I was not aware that in this country none but the sultan and a few high dignitaries were allowed to sit on a carpet. While the meat was cooking on the fire, and holding out the promise of some unwonted luxury, I received a visit from the father-in-law of Gréma 'Abdú, my host in Mústafají, and his appearance and hints confirmed my unfavorable anticipations. I related to him what had happened to me since I left him—that the Governor of Búgomán had refused to receive me into his town, and that I had remained eighteen days in Bákadá, waiting in vain for an order to be allowed to enter the capital. I showed him my carpet, and told him how it had been half devoured by the ants, and how we had suffered from want of sufficient food and shelter in the beginning of the rainy season. He was very sorry that I had not been treated with more regard; but he expressed his opinion that the lieutenant governor would not allow me to leave the country in such a way.

Unfortunately, this man was not open enough to confess to me that messengers from the capital had already arrived; neither did the bíllma, or rather "gollennánge" or "gar," as he is here called—the head man of the village, who arrived with a numerous host of people just as I was about to start—give me any hint about it. Whether he came with the intention of keeping me back, and was afraid of executing his design, I do not know. In any case, it would have been far more agreeable to me if my fate had been decided here instead of at Mélé. As it was, he sent one of his people with me to show me the track to the river, and I started about an hour after noon.

Considérable showers, which had fallen here seven days previously, had changed the dry character of the country, and revived its luxuriant nature. The whole district presented the cheerful aspect of spring. Fresh meadow-lands spread out; and we passed some extensive sheets of water, bordered by undulating banks in the freshest verdure. We passed several villages, among which one, called Mái-Dalá, was distinguished by its neat appearance, most of the huts having been recently thatched, to protect them against the rains. In the forest which

intervened, dúm-bushes and dúm-palms, here called "kolóngo, attracted my attention, on account of the wide range this plant occupies in Central Africa, while it was erroneously believed to belong exclusively to Upper Egypt. Having passed the shallow water of Ambusáda, where numbers of the blue-feathered bird, here called "dellúk," with red feet, were splashing about, we again approached the inauspicious village where I had first set my foot in this country.

As I entered the village I was saluted by the inhabitants as an old acquaintance, and pitched my tent quietly on the former spot.

*April* 19*th*. This was a memorable day to me, destined to teach me a larger share of stubborn endurance. Having passed a quiet night, I began early to speak to the head man of the village about crossing the river, making him at the same time a small present. In Bagírmi also, as well as in Logón and other parts of Negroland, there is a separate officer for the river-communication. This officer, who in Bagírmi bears the title of alífa-bá ("kemán-komádugubé" or "officer of the river"), has an agent or kashélla in every village on the banks of the river where there is a ferry; and this agent was absent at the time. Meanwhile I was conversing with several of my former friends, and, among others, met an inhabitant of Jógodé, who regretted extremely that I had missed my road to that place, as I should have been well treated there, and forwarded on my journey without obstacle, almost all of the inhabitants being Kanúri. The governor of that place, who, like that of Moitó, bears the title of "alífa," had left, as this man informed me, in order to join the sultan on the expedition.

While I was thus conversing, the head man of the village suddenly came to my tent, and informed me that messengers had arrived from the lieutenant-governor in order to prevent my proceeding; and upon his asking me what I intended to do, I told him that I would divide the time which I should be obliged to wait between this place, Jógodé, and Klésem, but that, if I should be compelled to wait too long, I should feel rather inclined to return to Logón. They rejected my pro-

posal, and requested that I should stay in Mélé, saying that the inhabitants of the village had promised to supply me with rice and fish, and that I ought not to stir from here. While I was quietly expostulating with him upon this treatment, telling him that this was almost impossible, the place being too badly provided, and that they might at least allow me to remain half the time in the neighboring village of Klésem, gradually more and more people entered the tent, and, suddenly seizing me, put my feet in irons.

Perhaps the unexpectedness of such an occurrence was rather fortunate, for if I had in the least divined their purpose, I might have made use of my arms; but, taken by surprise and overpowered as I was, I resigned myself in patience, and did not speak a word. The people not only carried away my arms, but also all my luggage; and, what grieved me most, they seized my chronometer, compass, and journal. Having then taken down my tent, they carried me to an open shed, where I was guarded by two servants of the lieutenant governor.

After all this trying treatment, I had still to hear a moral lecture given me by one of these half pagans, who exhorted me to bear my fate with patience, for all came from God.

Even my servants at first were put in irons; but when they protested that if they were not set at liberty I should have nobody to serve me, their fetters were taken off, and they came faithfully to me to soothe my misfortune. In the evening the slave of the alífa-bá mounted my horse, and, taking one of my pistols with him, rode off to Más-eñá.

Having remained silently in the place assigned to me till the evening, I ordered my servants to demand my tent back, and to pitch it in the old place; and, to my great satisfaction, my request was granted. Thus I passed the four following days quietly in my tent, and, although fettered like a slave, resigned to my fate. Fortunately, I had Mungo Park's first journey with me; and I could never have enjoyed the account of his sufferings among the Ludamar (Weláđ-Ammer) better than I

did in such a situation, and did not fail to derive from his example a great share of patience.

It was in this situation that, while reflecting on the possibility of Europeans civilizing these countries, I came to the conclusion that it would be absolutely necessary, in order to obtain the desired end, to colonize the most favorable tract of the country inclosed by the Kwára, the Bénuwé, and the River Kadúna, and thus to spread commerce and civilization in all directions into the very heart of the continent. Thus I wrote in my journal: "This is the only means to answer the desired end; everything else is vain.

*April* 23*d.* While lying in my tent in the course of the evening, my friend from Bákadá, Háj Bú-Bakr Sadík, arrived on my horse, and, being seized with indignation at the sight of my fetters, ordered them to be taken off without delay. I begged him to forgive me for having regarded myself as a free man, and not as a slave, not being aware of the real nature of my situation in this country. He, however, praised my conduct very highly, saying that I could not have acted otherwise than I did, and promising that I should now enter the capital without further delay of any kind.

Remaining cool and quiet under the favorable change of my circumstances, I thanked Providence for having freed me from this unpleasant situation, regarding it in the light of a useful lesson for future occasions. All my property was restored to me, even my arms, with the exception of the pistol which had been taken to the capital. However, the following day I had still to resign myself to patience, the chief servant of the lieutenant-governor not having yet arrived, and my horse, which had made the journey to the capital and back with great speed, wanting a little rest.

*Sunday, April* 25*th.* Early in the morning we entered upon our march once more, in an easterly direction; and although I had not yet experienced very kind treatment in this country, I was prepared to endure everything rather than to forego seeing the capital; but my poor servants were very differently disposed; for, having no mental interest, they felt the material

privations more heavily. While they viewed with horror our projected journey eastward, they cast a melancholy look on the opposite bank of the river, which promised them freedom from privation as well as from vexation.

It was now for the fourth time that I was passing along the banks of the stream. It was at present at its very lowest ("bá nedónge," as the Bagírmi people say), having sunk a foot or two since I first saw it, and having laid bare a much larger part of the sand-bank. People in Europe have no idea of the situation of a solitary traveller in these regions. If I had been able to proceed according to my wishes, my road, from the very first moment when I entered the country, would have lain straight along the course of this mighty river toward its sources; but a traveller in these countries is no better than a slave, dependent upon the caprice of people without intelligence and full of suspicion. All that I could expect to be able to accomplish, under present circumstances, was to obtain distinct information concerning the upper course of the river; for, ardent as had been my desire to join the sultan on his expedition, from all that I had seen, I could scarcely expect that the people would allow me to go any distance.

*Tuesday, April 27th.* We set out early in the morning, in order to reach at length the final object of our journey before the heat of the day.

As we were proceeding onward we suddenly obtained a view over a green, open depression, clad with the finest verdure, and interspersed with the ruins of clay houses. This, then, was Más-eñá, the capital. It presented the same ruined appearance as the rest of the country.

The town was formerly much larger, and the wall had been carried back, but it was still far too large for the town, and in the utmost state of decay. Ruined by a most disastrous civil war, and trodden down by its neighbors, the country of Bagírmi seems to linger till it is destined either to rise again, or to fall a prey to the first invader.

However, I was not allowed to enter the holy precinct of this ruined capital without further annoyance; for, being

obliged to send a message to the lieutenant-governor announcing my arrival, I was made to wait more than an hour and a half outside the gate, although there was not the least shade. I was then allowed to make my humble entrance. Only a few human beings were to be seen, and open pasture-grounds extended to a considerable distance, principally on the right side toward the south. We then entered the inhabited quarter, and I was lodged in a clay house standing in an open court-yard, which was likewise fenced by a low clay wall. The house contained an airy front room well suited to my taste, and four small chambers at the back, which were certainly not very airy, but were useful for stowing away luggage and provisions.

I had scarcely taken possession of my quarters when numbers of people came to salute me on the part of the lieutenant governor, and a short time afterward a confidential slave of his made his appearance, to whom I delivered my presents, consisting of a piece of printed Manchester cotton sufficient for a tobe, an Egyptian shawl, several kinds of odoriferous essences, such as "makhbíl," the fruit of a species of *tilia,* "lubán," or benzoin, and a considerable quantity of sandal-wood, which is greatly esteemed in the countries of Negroland east of Bórnu. While delivering these presents, and presenting my humble compliments, I declared myself unable to pay my respects personally to the lieutenant governor unless he restored my pistol, which was all that was wanting of the things which had been taken from me at Mélé; and, after some negotiation, it was agreed upon that he should deliver to me the pistol as soon as I presented myself, without my even saying a word about it.

I therefore went in the afternoon with Bú-Bakr to see him, and found a rather affable man, a little beyond middle age, simply dressed in a dark blue tobe, which had lost a good deal of its former lustre. Having saluted him, I explained to him how improper treatment and want of sufficient food had induced me to retrace my steps, after having convinced myself that I was not welcome in the country; for I assured him that

it was our utmost desire to be friends with all the princes of the earth, and to make them acquainted with us, and that, although I had known that the ruler of the country himself was absent, I had not hesitated in paying them a visit, as I had been given to understand that it would be possible to join him in the expedition. He excused his countrymen on the ground that they, not being acquainted with our character, had treated me as they would have done a person belonging to their own tribe who had transgressed the rules of the country. He then restored me my pistol before all the people, and desired me to await patiently the arrival of the sultan.

The ruler of the country, together with the principal men, being absent, the place presented at that time a more quiet, or, rather, dull appearance than it does in general; and when I took my first walk through the town, I was struck with the aspect of solitude which presented itself to the eye on all sides. Fortunately, there was one man in the town whose society and conversation were a relief to my mind.

This was Fáki Sámbo, a very tall and slender Púllo, with a scanty beard and an expressive countenance, except that it lacked the most important feature which enlivens the human face, he being totally blind. At that time, however, I did not know him, although, when I heard him convey a considerable degree of knowledge in a lively and impressive manner, I almost suspected he might be the man of whom I had heard so much. I was puzzled, however, at the first question, which was whether the Christians did not belong to the Beni I'sr'ayíl —that is to say, to the Jews.

This was the first conversation I had with this man, who alone contributed to make my stay in the place endurable. I could scarcely have expected to find in this out-of-the-way place a man not only versed in all the branches of Arabic literature, but who had even read (nay, possessed a manuscript of) those portions of Aristotle and Plato which had been translated into, or rather Mohammedanized in Arabic, and who possessed the most intimate knowledge of the countries which he had visited. His forefathers, belonging to that tribe of the Fúlbe which is

called Fittobe, had emigrated into the southern parts of Wáday, where they settled in the village of Bárekalla. When he was a young man, his father, who himself possessed a good deal of learning, and who had written a work on Háusa, had sent him to Egypt, where he had studied many years in the mosque of El A'zhar. It had been his intention to go to the town of Zebíd, in Yemen, which is famous among the Arabs on account of the science of logarithms, or el hesáb; but when he had reached Gunfúda, the war which was raging between the Turks and the Wahábíye had thwarted his projects, and he had returned to Dár-Fúr, where he had settled down some time, and had accompanied a memorable expedition to the southwest as far as the borders of a large river, of which I shall have another occasion to speak. Having then returned to Wáday, he had played a considerable part as courtier in that country, especially during the reign of 'Abd el 'Azíz, till the present king, Mohammed e' Sherif, on account of his intimate relation with the prince just mentioned, had driven him from his court and banished him from the country.

After having once made the acquaintance of this man, I used to visit him daily, and he was always delighted to see, or rather to hear me, for he had nobody with whom he could talk about the splendor and achievements of the Khalifat, from Baghdád to A'ndalos (Spain)—particularly of the latter country, with the history of whose towns, kings, and literary men he was intimately acquainted. He listened with delight when I once mentioned the astrolabe or sextant, and he informed me with pride that his father had been in possession of such an instrument, but that for the last twenty years he had not met a single person who knew what sort of thing an astrolabe was.

He was a very enlightened man, and in his inmost soul a Wahábi; and he gave me the same name, on account of my principles. I shall never forget the hours I passed in cheerful and instructive conversation with this man; for the more unexpected the gratification was, the greater, naturally, was the impression which it made upon me. Unluckily, he died about a year after I left the country.

Having but little exercise, I became very ill toward the end of this month, so that I thought it prudent to abstain entirely from food for five days, living exclusively upon an infusion of the fruit of the tamarind-tree and onions, seasoned with some honey and a strong dose of black pepper — a sort of drink which must appear abominable to the European, but which is a delightful treat to the feverish traveller in these hot regions. Convinced that my stay in this place, if I were not allowed to travel about, would be too trying for my constitution, I requested the lieutenant-governor to allow me to retrace my steps westward; but he would not consent, upon any condition whatever, that I should stir from the place.

This unfavorable disposition toward me assumed by degrees a more serious character, as, being unable to understand my pursuits, he could not but become suspicious of what I was doing. On the 21st of June, when I was quietly sitting in my house, one of his servants, Agíd Músa, who was well disposed toward me, and who used to call occasionally, suddenly made his appearance with a very serious countenance, and, after some hesitation and a few introductory remarks, delivered a message from the governor to the following effect. He wanted to know from me whether it was true (as was rumored in the town, and as the people had told him) that, as soon as a thunder-storm was gathering, and when the clouds appeared in the sky, I went out of my house and made the clouds withdraw; for they had assured him that they had repeatedly noticed that, as soon as I looked at the clouds with a certain air of command, they passed by without bringing a single drop of rain.

However serious the countenance of the messenger was, the purport of his message was so absurdly ridiculous that I could not help breaking out into a loud laugh, highly amused at the really pagan character of these *soi-disant* Mohammedans; but my friend begged me to regard the matter in a more serious light, and to take care what sort of answer I sent to his master. I then begged him to tell the governor that no man, either by charm or by prayer, was able to prevent or to cause rain, but that God sent rain wherever and whenever it pleased him. I

added, however, that if he believed my presence in the country was causing mischief, he might allow me to go; that I did not desire anything better than that, and should then pray night and day for rain; but that at present I myself could not wish for much rain, as I was afraid lest it should cut off my retreat by swelling the river to too great a height.

The messenger departed with my answer, and returned after a while with the *ultimatum* of the governor, to the effect that it was his own opinion that no human being was able to prevent rain, but that all of us were servants of the Almighty, and that, as they were praying for rain, I myself should add my prayer to theirs; I should then be allowed, at the proper time, to depart from them in safety, but that, if I was ill-disposed toward them, he likewise would do me evil, informing me at the same time that, for a similar reason, they had once killed two great religious chiefs from Bídderí.

Such was the character of the people with whom I had to deal, although they regarded themselves as enlightened Mohammedans. In order to show his good disposition, or most probably rather in order to see whether his good treatment of me would have any effect upon the amount of rain (as he seemed to take me for a "king of the high regions"), he sent me in the evening a dish of an excellent pudding, with plenty of butter, and a small pot of medíde, or gruel seasoned with the fruit of the dúm-palm, and even promised me corn for my horse; but, as I did not send him rain in return, as he seemed to have expected, his hospitality did not extend further.

It had been my custom, when a thunder-storm was gathering, to look out, in order to see from what quarter it was proceeding, which is a question of great interest in these regions; but the absurd superstition of these people so alarmed me that I scarcely dared to do so again.

Besides studying, roving about, and paying an occasional official visit to the lieutenant-governor, much of my time was also occupied with giving medicine to the people, especially during the early period of my stay; for the small stock of medicines which I brought with me was soon exhausted. But even if I had pos-

sessed a much larger supply, I might perhaps have been tempted to withhold occasionally the little aid I could afford, on account of the inhospitable treatment which I received; and in the beginning I was greatly pestered by the lieutenant, who sent me to some decrepit old women, who had broken their limbs, and in every respect were quite fit for the grave. I then protested officially against being sent in future to patients, at least of the other sex, beyond a certain age.

But sometimes the patients proved rather interesting, particularly the females; and I was greatly amused one morning when a handsome and well-grown young person arrived with a servant of the lieutenant-governor, and entreated me to call and see her mother, who was suffering from a sore in her right ear. Thinking that her house was not far off, I followed her on foot, but had to traverse the whole town, as she was living near the gate leading to A'bú-Gher; and it caused some merriment to my friends to see me strutting along with this young lady. But afterward, when I visited my patient, I used to mount my horse; and the daughter was always greatly delighted when I came, and frequently put some very pertinent questions to me, as to how I was going on with my household, as I was staying quite alone. She was a very handsome person, and would even have been regarded so in Europe, with the exception of her skin, the glossy black of which I thought very becoming at the time, and almost essential to female beauty.

The princesses also, or the daughters of the absent king, who in this country too bear the title of "mairam" or "méram," called upon me occasionally, under the pretext of wanting some medicines. Among others, there came one day a buxom young maiden, of very graceful but rather coquettish demeanor, accompanied by an elder sister, of graver manners and fuller proportions, and complained to me that she was suffering from a sore in her eyes, begging me to see what it was; but when, upon approaching her very gravely, and inspecting her eyes rather attentively without being able to discover the least defect, I told her that all was right, and that her eyes were sound and beautiful, she burst out into a roar of laughter, and repeated,

in a coquettish and flippant manner, "beautiful eyes, beautiful eyes."

There is a great difference between the Kanúri and Bagírmi females, the advantage being entirely with the latter, who certainly rank among the finest women in Negroland, and may well compete with the Fúlbe or Felláta; for if they are excelled by them in slenderness of form and lightness of color, they far surpass them in their majestic growth and their symmetrical and finely-shaped limbs, while the lustre and blackness of their eyes are celebrated all over Negroland. Of their domestic virtues, however, I cannot speak, as I had not sufficient opportunity to enable me to give an opinion upon so difficult a question. I will only say that on this subject I have heard much to their disadvantage, and I must own that I think it was not all slander. Divorce is very frequent among them as inclination changes. Indeed, I think that the Bagírmi people are more given to intrigues than their neighbors; and among the young men sanguinary encounters in love-affairs are of frequent occurrence. The son of the lieutenant-governor himself was at that time in prison on account of a severe wound which he had inflicted upon one of his rivals. In this respect the Bágrimma very nearly approach the character of the people of Wádáy, who are famous on account of the furious quarrels in which they often become involved in matters of love.

## CHAPTER XVII.

Return of the Sultan of Bórnu to Más-eñá, the capital—Triumphal entry—Dr. Barth receives letters from the British government, and an appointment to carry out the objects of the expedition, with supplies—His new position—He is directed to go to Timbúktu—Visit of courtiers—Memorandum book—Audience of the Sultan—Offer of a female slave to the Doctor, respectfully declined—Present from the Sultan—Detention in Más-eñá — Preparations for departure — Home journey to Kúkawa—Death of Mr. Overweg.

*July* 3*d.* After false reports of the sultan's approach had been spread repeatedly, he at length really arrived. Of course, the excitement of the whole population was very great, almost all the fighting men having been absent from home for more than six months.

This day, however, the sultan did not enter the capital, but, in conformity with the sacred custom of the kings of this country on their return from an expedition, was obliged to encamp among the ruins of the oldest quarter on the west side of the town, and it was not till Sunday, the 4th day of July, about noon, that he made his solemn entry.

On this occasion the bánga led in his triumphant procession seven pagan chiefs, among whom that of Gógomi was the most conspicuous person, and the greatest ornament of the triumph, being not less remarkable for his tall, stately figure, than on account of his having been the ruler of a considerable pagan state, with a capital in an almost inaccessible position. He excited the interest of the savage and witty Bagírmi people by submitting with a great deal of good humor to his fate, which was certainly not very enviable, as it is the custom in this country either to kill or to emasculate these princely prisoners after having conducted them for some time through all the

court-yards of the palace, while allowing the wives and female slaves of the sultan to indulge their capricious and wanton dispositions in all sorts of fun with them. The horrible custom of castration is, perhaps, in no country of Central Negroland practised to such an extent as in Bagírmi.

The booty in slaves did not seem to have been very considerable, although the prince had been absent from home for six months; and the whole share of the sultan himself seemed to consist of about four hundred individuals. The sultan passed slowly through the town, along the principal road from the western gate, and, proceeding along the "déndal" or "bokó," entered his palace amid the acclamations of the people and the clapping of hands (the "kabéllo" or "tófaji," as it is here called) of the women.

Although I had not yet paid my compliments to the bánga, he sent two messengers in the afternoon to bid me welcome. These messengers were the brother and son of one of the chief men of the country. However, he had returned in a bad state of health, and, unfortunately for me, succumbed in a few days.

I informed the messengers of the prince how badly I had been treated, when they assured me that the sultan did not know anything about it, and that, as soon as he had received the news of my arrival, he had forwarded orders to the lieutenant-governor to provide me with a milch-cow. The messengers then went away, and soon returned with a sheep, some butter, and a large supply of kréb, the seed of a sort of grass of which I have spoken on former occasions.

The same evening I was informed that an express messenger had come from Kúkawa with dispatches for me, the caravan from Fezzán having at length arrived. But, having been repeatedly disappointed by similar reports, I did not give myself up to vain expectation, and passed a very tranquil night.

Thus arrived the 6th of July, one of the most lucky days of my life; for, having been more than a year without any means whatever, and struggling with my fate in the endeavor to do as much as possible before I returned home, I suddenly found

myself authorized to carry out the objects of this expedition on a more extensive scale, and found sufficient means placed at my disposal for attaining that object. The messenger, however, managed his business very cleverly; for, having two large parcels of letters for me, one only containing dispatches from the Foreign Office, and the other containing a large amount of private correspondence, he brought me first the former, which had been very carefully packed up in Kúkawa, in a long strip of fine cotton (gábagá), and then sewn in red and yellow leather, without saying a word about the other parcel; but when I had read at my leisure the dispatches which honored me with the confidence of her Britannic majesty's government, and had rewarded his zeal with a new shirt, he went away, and soon returned with the second parcel, and a packet containing ten túrkedí, native cotton cloth, from Kanó, which at Mr. Overweg's request, the Vizier of Bórnu had sent me, and three of which I immediately presented to the messenger and his two companions.

The number of private letters from England, as well as Germany, was very considerable, and all of them contained the acknowledgment of what I had done, the greatest recompense which a traveller in those regions can ever aspire to. No doubt the responsibility also thus thrown upon me was very great, and the conclusion at which I had arrived from former experience, that I should not be able to fulfil the many exaggerated expectations which were entertained for my future proceedings, was oppressive; for, in almost all the letters from private individuals, there was expressed the persuasion that I and my companion should be able, without any great exertion, and in a short space of time, to cross the whole of the unknown region of equatorial Africa, and reach the southeastern coast—an undertaking the idea of which certainly I myself had originated, but which, I had become convinced in the course of my travels, was utterly impossible, except at the sacrifice of a great number of years, for which I found the state of my health entirely insufficient, besides a body of trustworthy and sincerely attached men, and a considerable supply of means. Moreover,

I found, to my surprise and regret, that the sum of £800 placed at my disposal by Lord Palmerston remained a dead letter, none of the money having been forwarded from Tripoli—a sum of about fifteen hundred dollars, which had been previously sent, being regarded as sufficient.

In this perplexity, produced by nothing but good-will and a superabundance of friendly feeling, I was delighted to find that her majesty's government, and Lord Palmerston in particular, held out a more practicable project by inviting me to endeavor to reach Timbúktu. To this plan, therefore, I turned my full attention, and in my imagination dwelt with delight upon the thought of succeeding in the field of the glorious career of Mungo Park.

For the present, however, I was still in Bagírmi, that is to say, in a country where, under the veil of Islám, a greater amount of superstitious ideas prevail than in many of the pagan countries; and I was revelling in the midst of my literary treasures, which had just carried me back to the political and scientific domains of Europe, and all the letters from those distant regions were lying scattered on my simple couch, when all of a sudden one of my servants came running into my room, and hastily informed me that a numerous *cortége* of messengers had just arrived from court.

I had scarcely time to conceal my treasure under my mat when the courtiers arrived, and in a few moments my room was filled with black people and black tobes. The messengers who had brought me the letters had likewise been the bearers of a letter addressed by the ruler of Bórnu to the bánga of Bagírmi, who in a certain respect was tributary to him, requesting him to allow me to return without delay to his country in the company of the messengers. There were some twenty persons besides the lieutenant-governor or kadamánge, and the two relations of Máina; and the manner in which they behaved was so remarkable that I was almost afraid lest I should be made prisoner a second time. There could be no doubt that they had heard of the large correspondence which I had received. But there had been, moreover, a great deal of suspicion, from

my first arrival, that I was a Turkish spy. There was even a pilgrim who, from his scanty stock of geographical and ethnological knowledge, endeavored to persuade the people that I was an "Arnaut," who, he said, were the only people in the world that wore stockings. Be this as it may, the courtiers were afraid of coming forward abruptly with the real object of their visit, and at first pretended they wished to see the presents that I had brought for the sultan. These consisted of a caftan of red cloth, of good quality, which I had bought in Tripoli for nine dollars; a repeater watch, from Nuremberg, bought for ten dollars, with a twisted silk guard of Tripolitan workmanship; a shawl, with silk border; an English knife and a pair of scissors; cloves, and a few other things. The watch, of course, created the greatest astonishment, as it was in good repair at the time, although it was a pity that we had not been provided with good English manufactures, but had been left to pick up what articles we might think suitable to our purpose.

Having also asked to see my telescope, which, of course, could only increase their surprise and astonishment, they then, after a great deal of beckoning and whispering with each other, which made me feel rather uneasy, requested to see the book in which I wrote down everything I saw and heard. Without hesitation, I took out my memorandum-book and showed it to them; but I had first to assert its identity. In order to allay their suspicions, I spontaneously read to them several passages from it which referred to the geography and ethnography of the country; and I succeeded in making them laugh and become merry, so that they even added some names where my lists were deficient. They then begged me to allow them to take the book to the sultan, and I granted their request without hesitation.

This frankness of mine completely baffled the intrigues of my enemies, and allayed the suspicions of the natives; for they felt sure that, if I had any evil intention in writing down an account of the country, I should endeavor to do all in my power to conceal what I had written.

Thus they departed, carrying with them my journal; and I was informed afterward that the sultan had sent for all the learned men in the town, in order to hear their opinion upon my book. And it was perhaps fortunate for me that the principal among them was my friend Sámbo, who, being well acquainted with my scientific pursuits, represented my notes as a very innocent and merely scientific matter. My journal, which no one was able to read, was consequently returned to me uninjured. In the afternoon my friend Sámbo called upon me, and related to me the whole story; he also informed me that the only reason why I had not obtained an audience with the sultan this day was the above-mentioned letter of the Sheikh of Bórnu, which had in a certain degree offended their feelings of independence; and, in fact, I did not obtain an audience until the 8th.

*July 8th.* I had just sent word to Sámbo, begging him to hasten my departure, and had received a visit from some friends of mine, when Gréma 'Abdú came, with a servant of the sultan, in order to conduct me into his presence, whereupon I sent to Sámbo, as well as to my host Bú-Bakr of Bákadá, who was just then present in town, inviting them to accompany me to the prince. On arriving at the palace, I was led into an inner court-yard, where the courtiers were sitting on either side of a door which led into an inner apartment, the opening or doorway of which was covered by a "kasár," or, as it is called here, "párpara," made of a fine species of reed, as I have mentioned in my description of the capital of Logón. In front of the door, between the two lines of the courtiers, I was desired to sit down, together with my companions.

Being rather puzzled to whom to address myself, as no one was to be seen who was in any way distinguished from the rest of the people, all the courtiers being simply dressed in the most uniform style, in black, or rather blue tobes, and all being bareheaded, I asked aloud, before beginning my address, whether the Sultan 'Abd el Káder was present, and an audible voice answered from behind the screen that he was present. Being then sure that it was the sultan whom I addressed,

although I should have liked better to have seen him face to face, I paid him my respects and presented the compliments of her Brittanic majesty's government, which, being one of the chief European powers, was very desirous of making acquaintance with all the princes of the earth, and of Negroland also, in order that their subjects, being the first traders in the world, might extend their commerce in every direction. I told him that we had friendships and treaties with almost all the nations of the earth, and that I myself was come in order to make friendship with them; for, although they did not possess many articles of trade to offer, especially as we abhorred the slave-trade, yet we were able to appreciate their ivory, and even if they had nothing to trade with, we wanted to be on good terms with all princes. I told him, moreover, that we were the best of friends with the Sultan of Stambúl, and that all who were acquainted with us knew very well that we were excellent people, trustworthy, and full of religious feelings, who had no other aim but the welfare of mankind, universal intercourse, and peaceable interchange of goods. I protested that we did not take notes of the countries which we visited with any bad purpose, but merely in order to be well acquainted with their government, manners, and customs, and to be fully aware what articles we might buy from, and what articles we might sell to them. Thus already "Ráís Khalíl" (Major Denham) had formed, I said, the design of paying his compliments to his (the sultan's) father, but that the hostile relations which prevailed at that time between Bagírmi and Bórnu had prevented him from executing his plan when he had reached Logón, and that, from the same motives, I had now come for no other purpose than the benefit of his country; but that, nevertheless, notwithstanding my best intentions, I had been ill-treated by his own people, as they had not been acquainted with my real character. I stated that it had been my ardent desire to join him in the expedition, in order to see him in the full exercise of his power, but that his people had not allowed me to carry out my design.

The whole of my speech, which I made in Arabic, was trans-

lated, phrase for phrase, by my blind friend Sámbo, who occasionally gave me a hint when he thought I spoke in too strong terms. The parcel containing my presents was then brought forward and placed before me, in order that I might open it myself and explain the use of each article.

While exhibiting the various articles, I did not neglect to make the watch strike repeatedly, which created the greatest astonishment and surprise among the spectators, who had never seen or heard anything like it. I then added, in conclusion, that it was my sincere wish, after having remained in this country nearly four months, confined and watched like a prisoner, to return to Kúkawa without any further delay, as I had a great deal of business there, and at the present moment was entirely destitute of means; but that if he would guarantee me full security, and if circumstances should permit, I myself, or my companion, would return at a later period. Such a security having been promised to me, and the whole of my speech having been approved of, I went away.

I had scarcely returned to my quarters when the two relations of Máina Beládemí, Máina Kánadi and Sabún, called upon me, with a very mysterious countenance, and, after some circumlocution, made known the grave errand upon which they had been sent, which was to ask whether I had not a cannon with me; and when I expressed my astonishment at their thinking I was supplied with such an article, while my whole luggage was carried on the back of one weak she-camel, they stated that the sultan was at least anxious to know whether I was not able to manufacture one myself. Having professed my inability to do so, they went away, but returned the next day, with many compliments from their master, who, they said, was anxious that I should accept from his hands a handsome female slave, of whose charms they gave a very eloquent description, and that it was his intention to furnish me with a camel, and provide me with two horsemen who should escort me back to Bórnu. I told him that, although sensible of my solitary situation, I could not accept such a thing as a slave from the sultan, and that I did not care about anything else

but permission to depart, except that I should feel obliged to him if he would give me a few specimens of their manufactures. They then promised that the next day I should have another audience with the sultan, and they kept their word.

This time, also, I was only able to address the sultan without seeing him, when I repeated my request that he would allow me to depart without any further delay, as I had most urgent business in Kúkawa; but I received the answer that although the road was open to me, the sultan, as the powerful ruler of a mighty kingdom, could not allow me to depart empty-handed. I then, in order to further my request, presented him with a small telescope, in the use of which I instructed his people. Having returned to my quarters, I assured my friends, who came to inform me that it was the sultan's intention to make me a splendid present in return for those I had given him, that I did not care for anything except a speedy return to Bórnu, as there was no prospect that I should be allowed to penetrate farther eastward. But all my protests proved useless, as these people were too little acquainted with the European character, and there were too many individuals, who, if I did not care about getting anything, were anxious to obtain something for themselves; I was therefore obliged to abandon myself to patience and resignation.

*August 6th.* At length, in the afternoon, there came a long *cortége* from the sultan, conducted by Zérma or Kadamánge, Sabún, and Kánadí, with a present of fifty shirts of every kind, and which altogether might be valued at about thirty dollars. Among the shirts were seven of a better sort, all of which I sent to England, with the exception of one, which was very light, consisting of silk and cotton, and which I kept for my own wear; there were, besides, twenty-three white ones of a better kind, and twenty common market tobes.

While presenting me with this royal gift, and explaining that the sultan was sorry that I would not accept from his hands anything more valuable, either slaves or ivory, Zérma announced to me officially that I might now start when I

thought proper; that hitherto neither the people of Bagírmi had known me nor I them, but that if I were to return I might regard Bagírmi as my own country. While expressing my thanks to the sultan for his present, as well as for the permission to depart, I told the messenger that if they wished that either I or my brother (companion) should ever visit their country again, the sultan ought to give me a paper, testifying his permission by a special writ, sealed with his own royal seal. This they promised, and, moreover, told me that a man from the sultan should accompany me to the river, in order to protect me against any further intrigues of the ferrymen, my great enemies.

The sultan's munificence, although not great, enabled me to reward my friends and attendants.

But, although on my first arrival in this country I had entertained the hope that it might be possible to accomplish such an undertaking, I had convinced myself that, not taking into account my entire want of proper means, it would be imprudent, under the present circumstances, to attempt such a thing; for the state of affairs in the country of Wádáy was exceedingly unfavorable at the time, a destructive civil war having just raged, and matters not being yet settled. My own situation in this country, moreover, was too uncertain to allow me to have sufficient supplies sent after me to embark in such a grand enterprise; and besides, although I had become fully aware of the great interest which attaches to the empire of Wádáy, as well owing to the considerable extent of its political power as on account of the great variety of elements of which it is composed, and also on account of its lying on the water-parting between the basin of the Tsád and that of the Nile, I felt quite sure that the western part of Negroland, along the middle course of the so-called Niger, was a far nobler and more fruitful field for my exertions.

*August 8th.* After all the delay was overcome, I at length became aware what had been the cause of it; for in the afternoon of that day my noble companion Gréma 'Abdú, who had left me so unceremoniously before I reached the capital, and

who altogether had been of so little use to me, came to inform me that all was now ready for our departure, he having received the five slaves whom he was to take to Kúkawa, partly for his own benefit, and partly for the benefit of his master Mestréma, who held a situation something like a consul of Bagírmi in the capital of Bórnu. Indeed, there were now unmistakable signs that I was at length to leave this place, for the following day I was treated with a large dish of rice and meat, swimming in a rich abundance of butter, from the sultan, and another dish from my niggardly host the zérma or kadamánge; and on the 10th of August I really left the capital of Bagírmi, where I had certainly staid much longer than I had desired, as I was not allowed to move freely about in the country, but where, nevertheless, I was enabled to collect a great deal of valuable information.

*August 10th.* Although I had once cherished the idea of penetrating toward the upper course of the Nile, I was glad when I turned my face westward, as I had since convinced myself that such an enterprise was not possible under the present circumstances. I had been so many times deceived by the promise of my final departure, that when in the morning of that day a messenger from the zérma arrived with the news that I might get ready my luggage, I did not believe him, and would not stir till Zérma himself made his appearance and confirmed the news, assuring me that I should find the letter of the sultan, with regard to my security on a future visit, with Máina Sabún.

In consequence, I ordered my servants to get my luggage ready; but before I started I received a visit from a large number of courtiers, with an agíd at their head, in order to bid me farewell, and also to entreat me for the last time to sell to the sultan my fine "kerí-sassarándi" (horse). But this I was obliged to refuse, stating that I wanted the horse for myself, and that I had not come to their country as a merchant, but as a messenger. It had always been a subject of great annoyance to them that I refused to sell my horse, as all the people who visit this country from the other side of Bórnu are

in the habit of bringing horses with them expressly for sale. They revenged themselves, therefore, by giving me another nickname, as an ambitious and overbearing man — "dérbaki ngólo." But I would not have parted with the companion of my toils and dangers for all the treasures in the world, although it had its faults, and was certainly not then in the best condition. I had some foreboding that it might still be a useful companion on many an excursion; and it was, in reality, still to carry me for two years, and was to excite the envy both of my friends and enemies in Timbúktu as it had done here.

Having received the letter of the sultan, with the contents of which I could not but express myself highly satisfied, I set fairly out on my journey; and my heart bounded with delight when, gaining the western gate, I entered the open country, and once more found myself at liberty.

[The journey back to Kúkawa occupied ten days, but was not attended by any remarkable incidents.]

*Friday, August 20th.* We had now only one long day's march to Kúkawa; and, reaching the town of Ngórnu after six hours' ride, I had great trouble in dragging on my horsemen, who, being quite exhausted, wanted to make themselves comfortable with their friends, for the Bórnu men of the present day are not accustomed to much fatigue. Indeed, both my companions were so utterly prostrated in mind and body that, strange to say, they lost their road close to the capital, although certainly the high corn-fields gave the country a totally different appearance. The great pond of Kaine was now larger than I had ever seen it, and flooded the path to a great extent.

Having sent on a man in advance in order to announce my arrival to the vizier and Mr. Overweg, I made a short halt near one of the many pools of stagnant water, and we were just about to remount when my friend came galloping up. We were both extremely glad to see each other again, having been separated from one another longer than on any former occasion; and they had received in Kúkawa very alarming news about my reception in Bagírmi. Mr. Overweg had made,

meanwhile, a very intereresting trip into the southwestern mountainous districts of Bórnu; he had returned from thence about two months previously, and I was surprised to find that, notwithstanding the long repose which he had enjoyed, he looked more weak and exhausted than I had ever seen him. But he informed me that since his return he had been very ailing, and that even at present he did not feel quite recovered. He gave me a very lively and encouraging description of the means which had been placed at my disposal, and with the most spirited projects for the future we entered the town. Here I once more found myself in my old quarters, with luxuries at my command which, during the last six months, had become almost strange to me, such as coffee with sugar, and tea with milk and sugar.

*Monday, August* 23*d.* We had a very important private audience with the sheikh, when, after the usual compliments were passed, I endeavored to give him a clear description of the present relations of the expedition; for, when he expressed his wish that I might be appointed by her majesty as a consul, I declared to him that that could not be, but that it was my business to explore unknown countries, to open intercourse with them, and afterward to return to my native country; that it was the most ardent desire of her majesty's government to enter into the most friendly relations with Bórnu, but that our scientific mission extended far beyond that country. And I further explained to him that government, in their last dispatches, had expressed their wish that if we should ascertain the impossibility of penetrating in a southerly or easterly direction, we might turn westward and endeavor to reach Timbúktu.

This statement seemed to gratify him extremely, as he was afraid of nothing more than that we might go to Wádáy, and enter into friendly relations with the sultan of that country. It is from this point of view that I am quite sure that the vizier, at least, had done nothing to insure me a good reception in Bagírmi, if not the contrary. However, the sultan declared that, as he was greatly pleased at our desire to try our fortune

in a westerly direction, he should not prevent us, even if we wanted to go to Wádáy, as it was stipulated expressly in the treaty that her Britannic majesty's subjects might go wherever they pleased, although it was not until a few days later that he actually signed the treaty, after numerous delays and evasions. I, however, expressed my wish that, before we left the country, circumstances might allow us to complete the survey and exploration of the Tsád, which was both our own wish and that of the British government. Our addresses and our presents having been received with equal affability, we took a hearty leave and returned home. On the last day of August the sultan signed the treaty, expressing moreover the hope that, if merchants should actually visit the country in quest of other merchandise than slaves, the slave-trade might be gradually abolished.

I was now enabled to arrange all our money-matters, which were in a very confused and desperate state; for, besides the large debt due to the merchant Mohammed e' Sfáksi, we were indebted to the vizier alone for 500 Spanish dollars. Not being able to satisfy all our creditors with ready money, there having been sent only 1050 dollars in cash, I arranged with a merchant, giving him 200 dollars in cash and a bill for 1500 dollars on Fezzán, while I paid all the smaller debts, as well as that of the vizier. Indeed, we might now have been able to achieve a great deal if it had been our destiny to remain together; for in the beginning almost all our efforts were paralyzed by the smallness of our means, which did not allow us to undertake anything on a large scale; but it was our destiny that, when sufficient supplies had arrived, one of us should succumb.

I have already observed that, when on my return I met my companion before the gates of the capital, I was surprised at his exhausted appearance, and I was sorry to find that my first impression was confirmed by what I saw afterward. As he himself was anxious for a little change of air, and as it was entirely in accordance with our object of exploring the lake, to observe the state of the komádugu at this season, while it was not possible at present to enter upon any great undertaking,

we agreed that he should make a small trip to the lower part of the river; and he left, accordingly, for A'jiri on the 29th of August, in company with a small grandee or kókana, to whom the place belonged, a short distance westward from the district of Dúchi. I accompanied him about as far as the village of Dáwerghú, and we separated with a firm hope that the excursion would do him a great deal of good — and he really enjoyed extremely the rich vegetation of the komádugu, which at this time of the year, during the rising of the river, was in its full vigor. He learned, by inquiry from the natives, the very interesting fact that the water in the komádugu, which during the dry season is limited to detached pools of stagnant water, begins to form a continuous stream of water eastward toward the Tsád on the 21st or 22d of July, and continues running for about seven months; that is to say, till about the middle of February. It begins to overflow its banks in the month of November. But, although my companion took great interest in the objects around him, he could not have felt very strong, as the notes which he wrote during this excursion are extremely short and unsatisfactory, while it would have been of importance if he had been able to lay down the course of the river with tolerable exactitude. Moreover, in his feeble condition, he committed the mistake of forcing his last day's march in returning to Kúkawa on the 13th of September, and I was sorry to observe, when we supped together that evening, that his appetite greatly failed him.

Being fully aware of the unhealthiness of the climate during the month of September, we agreed by common consent to keep moving about as much as possible, and to take a ride every day to some distance. It was on this account that we arranged a visit to Dáwerghú on Sunday, the 20th; but, unfortunately, some business which we had to transact prevented our setting out at an early hour in the morning, and, my friend's head being that day rather affected, I proposed to him putting off our excursion till another day; but he thought that the fresh air might do him good. We therefore started in the heat of the day, although the sun was not very bright, while my com-

panion did not neglect to protect his head as well as possible from the rays of the sun.

Having refreshed ourselves in the cool shade of a fine hájilíj, Mr. Overweg thought himself strong enough to go about shooting, and was so imprudent as to enter deep water in pursuit of some water-fowl, and to remain in his wet clothes all the day without saying a word; and I only became aware of this fact late in the evening, after we had returned to the town, when he dried his wet clothes at the fire.

Although he had been moving about the whole day, he was not able to enjoy our simple supper; but he did not complain. However, the next morning he felt so weak that he was unable to rise from his couch; and instead of taking a sudorific, which I most earnestly advised him to do, he was so obstinate as not to take any medicine at all, so that his illness increased with an alarming rapidity, and rather an alarming symptom appeared on the following day, when his speech became quite inarticulate and almost unintelligible. He then became aware himself of the dangerous state he was in. He informed me that in the town he should never recover, that it was absolutely necessary for him to get a change of air, and that he entertained the hope that, if I could take him to Máduwári, he might speedily regain his health in the house of our friend, the kashélla Fúgo 'Alí.

It was a difficult task to take my sick companion to the desired place, which is distant from Kúkawa more than eight miles; and though he began his journey on Thursday morning, he could not reach the desired place until the morning of Friday. Having made a present to our friend Fúgo 'Alí, that he might be induced to take sufficient care of him, and having left the necessary orders, I returned to the town in order to finish my dispatches; but the same evening one of the servants whom I had left with Mr. Overweg came and informed me that he was much worse, and that they were unable to understand a single word he said. I mounted immediately, and found my friend in a most distressing condition, lying outside in the court-yard, as he had obstinately refused to sleep in the hut.

He was bedewed with a cold perspiration, and had thrown off all his coverings. He did not recognise me, and would not allow me or any one else to cover him. Being seized with a terrible fit of delirium, and muttering unintelligible words, in which all the events of his life seemed to be confused, he jumped up repeatedly in a raging fit of madness, and rushed against the trees and into the fire, while four men were scarcely able to hold him.

At length, toward morning, he became more quiet, and remained tranquilly on his couch; and, not becoming aware that his strength was broken, and hoping that he might have passed the crisis, I thought I might return to the town. After asking him if he had any particular desire, he said that he had something to tell me; but it was impossible for me to understand him, and I can only fancy, from what happened, that, being aware that death was at hand, he wanted to recommend his family to me.

At an early hour on Sunday morning Mr. Overweg's chief servant came to me with the sad news that the state of my friend was very alarming, and that since I had left him he had not spoken a word, but was lying motionless. I mounted immediately on horseback; but, before I reached the place, I was met by a brother of Fúgo 'Alí, who, with tears in his eyes, told me that our friend was gone. With the dawn of day, while a few drops of rain were falling, after a short struggle, his soul had departed.

In the afternoon I laid him in his grave, which was dug in the shade of a fine hájilíj, and well protected from the beasts of prey. Thus died my sole friend and companion, in the thirtieth year of his age, and in the prime of his youth. It was not reserved for him to finish his travels, and to return home in safety; but he met a most honorable death as a martyr to science; and it is a remarkable fact that he found himself a grave on the very borders of that lake by the navigation of which he has rendered his name celebrated forever. It was certainly a presentiment of his approaching death which actuated him in his ardent desire to be removed to this place, where

he died hard by the boat in which he had made his voyage. Many of the inhabitants of the place, who had known him well during his repeated visits to the village, bitterly lamented his death, and no doubt the "tabíb," as he was called, will long be remembered by them.

Dejected, and full of sad reflections on my lonely situation, I returned into the town in the evening; but our dwelling, which during my stay in Bagírmi my companion had greatly improved, and embellished by whitewashing it with a kind of gypsum, of which he found a layer in our court-yard, now appeared to me desolate and melancholy in the extreme. While, therefore, originally it had been my plan to make another trial along the eastern shores of the Tsád, any longer stay in this place had now become so intolerable to me that I determined to set out as soon as possible on my journey toward the Niger —to new countries and new people.

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## CHAPTER XVIII.

Dr. Barth takes leave of the Sheikh of Bórnu and starts for Timbúktu. — His servants.—Passes the Komádugu of Bórnu.—The Natron Lake.— Múniyó.—Visit of Y'usuf Múkni.—Wealth and power of Múniyoma.— Visit to him. — Arrival at Zínder.

THE death of Mr. Overweg, happening at a period when the prospects of the mission just began to brighten, induced me to relinquish my original plan of once more trying my fortune in Kánem and on the N.E. shores of Tsád, as an undertaking too dangerous for me in my isolated position, and the results of which could not reasonably be expected to be great, even with the protection of a small force, in a disturbed country, in comparison with the dangers that accompanied it. Besides, such was the character of the horde of the Welád Slimán and their mode of warfare, that, after having received the sanction of the British government for my proceedings, and being autho-

rized by them to carry out the objects of the mission as at first projected, I could scarcely venture to associate myself again with such a lawless set of people. I therefore determined to direct my whole attention toward the west, in order to explore the countries situated on the middle course of the great western river, the I'sa, or the so-called Niger, and at the same time to establish friendly relations with the powerful ruler of the empire of Sókoto, and to obtain full permission for myself or other Europeans to visit the southeastern provinces of his empire, especially A'damáwa, which I had been prevented from fully exploring by the real or pretended fear of the governor of that province to grant such a permission without the sanction of his liege lord.

The treaty which I had at length succeeded in getting signed by the Sheikh of Bórnu and his vizier on the last of August, together with a map of all the parts of Central Africa which I had as yet visited, and containing at the same time all the information which I had been able to collect concerning the neighboring provinces, I had forwarded home in the middle of October, addressing at the same time the request of H. M.'s consul at Tripoli to send me, by a special courier to Zínder, a certain sum of money. The road which I had before me was long, leading through the territories of a great many different chiefs, and partly even of powerful princes; and as soon as I should have left Zínder behind me, I could not expect to find fresh supplies, the sum of money which I had received on my return from Bagírmi being almost all spent in paying the debts which we had incurred when left without means. A sum of 400 dollars, besides a box containing choice English ironware, had been some time before consigned to a Tebú of the name of A'hmed Haj 'Alí Billama; but instead of proceeding at once with the caravan with which he had left Fezzán, as he ought to have done, he staid behind in his native town Bilma to celebrate a marriage. The caravan, with about twenty horses and a hundred camels, arrived, on the 10th of November, without bringing me anything except the proof of such reckless conduct; and as I could not afford to loose any more time in wait-

ing for this parcel, I left orders that it should be forwarded to Zínder as soon as it should arrive, but never received it.

Nearly three-fourths of the money in cash which we had received being required to pay off our debts, we had been obliged to give away a great portion even of the articles of merchandise, or presents, in order to reward friends who for so long a period had displayed their hospitality toward us, and rendered us services almost without the slightest recompense; so that, on the whole, it was only under the most pressing circumstances I could think of undertaking a journey to the west with the means then at my disposal. But, very luckily, a handsome sum of money was on the road to Zínder; I also expected to receive at that place a few new instruments, as the greater part of my thermometers were broken, and I had no instrument left for making hypsometrical observations.

An inroad on a large scale of a tribe of the Tawárek, or Kindín, as they are called in Bórnu, under their chief, Músa, into the province of Múniyó, through which lay my road to Zínder, delayed my departure for a considerable time. This inroad of the hordes of the desert claimed a greater interest than usual, especially when considered in connection with the facts which I have set forth on a former occasion, the Tawárek or Berbers having originally formed an integral part of the settled population of Bórnu. These Díggera of Músa, who appear to have occupied these tracts at a former period, had evidently formed the firm intention of settling again in the fine valleys of the province of Múniyó, which are so favorable to the breeding of camels that even when the country was in the hands of the Bórnu people they used to send their herds there.

At length, after a long series of delays, the road to the west became open, and I took leave of the sheikh on the 19th of November, in a private audience, none but the vizier being present. I then found reason to flatter myself that, from the manner in which I had explained to them the motives which had induced me to undertake a journey to the chiefs of the Fúlbe or Fellatá, there were no grounds of suspicion remaining between us, although they made it a point that I should

avoid going by Kanó; and even when I rejected their entreaty to remain with them after my successful return from Timbúktu, they found nothing to object, as I assured them that I might be more useful to them as a faithful friend in my own country than by remaining with them in Bórnu. At that time I thought that her majesty's government would be induced to send a consul to Bórnu, and, in consequence, I raised their expectations on that point. But matters in Bórnu greatly changed during my absence in the west, and, in consequence of the temporary interregnum of the usurper 'Abd e' Rahmán, and the overthrow and murder of the vizier, the state of affairs there assumed a less settled aspect. I concluded my leave-taking by requesting my kind hosts, once more, to send a copy of the history of Edrís Alawóma, the most celebrated Bórnu king, to the British government, as I was sure that, in their desire to elucidate the history and geography of these regions, this would be an acceptable present.

The vizier, in particular, took great interest in my enterprise, admiring the confidence which I expressed, that the Sheikh el Bakáy in Timbúktu, of whom I had formed an opinion merely from hearsay, would receive me kindly and give me his full protection; and I did not fail to represent to them that, if the English should succeed in opening these great high roads of the interior for peaceful intercourse, it would be highly advantageous even for themselves, as they would thus be enabled to obtain those articles which they were in want of from the regions of Western Africa, such as kola nuts and gold, with much less expense and greater security; and they were thus induced to endeavor to derive a profit even from this my enterprise. The sheikh, who had formed the intention of undertaking a journey to Mekka, wanted me to procure for him some gold in Timbúktu; but, uncertain as were my prospects, and difficult as would be my situation, I could not guarantee such a result, which my character as a messenger of the British government would scarcely allow. The sheikh sent me two very fine camels as a present, which stood the fatigue of the journey marvellously, one of them only succumbing on my return

journey, three days from Kúkawa, when, seeing that it was unable to proceed, I gave it as a present to a native m'allem. Having finished my letters, I fixed my departure for the 25th of November, without waiting any longer for the caravan of the Arabs, which was soon to leave for Zínder, and which, though it held out the prospect of a little more security, would have exposed me to a great deal of inconvenience and delay.

*Thursday, November 25th*, 1852. It was half past ten in the morning when I left the town of Kúkawa, which for upward of twenty months I had regarded as my head-quarters, and as a place which, in any emergency, I might safely fall back upon; for although I even then expected that I should be obliged to return to this place once more, and even of my own free will made my plans accordingly, yet I was convinced that, in the course of my proceedings, I should not be able to derive any farther aid from the friendship and protection of the Sheikh of Bórnu, and I likewise fully understood that circumstances might oblige me to make my return by the western coast. For I never formed such a scheme voluntarily, as I regarded it of much greater importance for the government, in whose service I had the honor to be employed, to survey the coast of the great river from Timbúktu downward, than to attempt, if I should have succeeded in reaching that place, to come out on the other side of the continent, while I was fully aware that, even under the most favorable circumstances, in going, I should be unable to keep along the river, on account of its being entirely in the hands of the lawless tribes of Tawárek, whom I should not be able to pass before I had obtained the protection of a powerful chief in those quarters. Meanwhile, well aware from my own experience how far man generally remains in arrear of his projects, in my letter to government I represented my principal object as only to reach the Niger at the town of Sáy, while all beyond that was extremely uncertain.

My little troop consisted of the following individuals. First, Mohammed el Gatróni, the same faithful young lad who had accompanied me as a servant all the way from Fezzán to Kúkawa, and whom, on my starting for A'damáwa, I had sent

home, very reluctantly, with my dispatches and with the late Mr. Richardson's effects, on condition that, after having staid some time with his wife and children, he should return. He had lately come back with the same caravan which had brought me the fresh supplies. Faithful to my promise, I had mounted him on horseback, and made him my chief servant, with a salary of four Spanish dollars per month, and a present of fifty dollars besides in the event of my enterprise being successfully terminated. My second servant, and the one upon whom, next to Mohammed, I relied most, was 'Abd-Alláhi, or, rather, as the name is pronounced in this country, 'Abd-Alléhi, a young Shúwa from Kótokó, whom I had taken into my service on my journey to Bagírmi, and who, never having been in a similar situation, and not having dealt before with Europeans, at first had caused me a great deal of trouble, especially as he was laid up with the small-pox for forty days during my stay in that country. He was a young man of very pleasing manners and straightforward character, and, as a good and pious Moslim, formed a useful link between myself and the Mohammedans; but he was sometimes extremely whimsical, and, after having written out his contract for my whole journey to the west and back, I had the greatest trouble in making him adhere to his own stipulations. I had unbounded control over my men, because I agreed with them that they should not receive any part of their salary on the road, but the whole on my successful return to Háusa. 'Abd-Alláhi was likewise mounted on horseback, but had only a salary of two dollars, and a present of twenty dollars. Then came Mohammed ben A'hmed, who, though a person of very indifferent abilities, and at the same time very self-conceited on account of his Islám, was yet valued by me for his honesty, while he, on his part, having been left by his countrymen and co-religionists in a very destitute situation, became attached to myself.

I had two more freemen in my service, one a brother of Mohammed el Gatróni, who was only to accompany me as far as Zínder; the other an Arab from the borders of Egypt, and called Slimán el Ferjáni, a fine, strong man, who had once

formed part of the band of the Welád Slimán in Kánem, and who might have been of great service to me from his knowledge of the use of fire-arms and his bodily strength; but he was not to be trusted, and deserted me in a rather shameful manner a little beyond Kátsena.

Besides these freemen, I had in my service two liberated slaves, Dy'rregu, a Háusa boy, and A'bbega, a Marghí lad,

A'bbega. Dy'rregu.

who had been set free by the late Mr. Overweg; the same young lads whom, on my return to Europe, I brought to this country, where they promised to lay in a store of knowledge,

and who, on the whole, have been extremely useful to me, although A'bbega not unfrequently found some other object more interesting than my camels, which were intrusted to his care, and which, in consequence, he lost repeatedly.

In addition to these servants, I had attached to my person another man as a sort of broker, and who was to serve as a mediator between me and the natives; this was the Méjebrí 'Alí el A'geren, a native of Jálo, the small commercial place near Aújila, which has recently been visited and described by the Abbé Hamilton. He had travelled for many years in Negroland, and had traversed in various directions the region inclosed between Sókoto, Kanó, Baúchi, Záriya, and Gónja. But for the present, on my outset from Bórnu, I had not made any fixed arrangements with this man; but in the event of his accompanying me beyond Sókoto, he was to have two horses and a monthly salary of nine dollars, besides being permitted to trade on his own account. Such an arrangement, although rather expensive to me, considering the means at my disposal, was of very great importance if the man did his duty, he being able, in his almost independent situation, to render me extraordinary assistance in overcoming many difficulties; but, as an Arab, I only put full confidence in him as long as circumstances were propitious, while his wavering character as soon as dangers began to surround me did not put me in any way out of countenance.

These people, besides an Arab, a so-called sheríf, from Fás, who was going as far as Zínder, and who had likewise attached himself to my small party, composed the band with which I cheerfully set out on my journey toward the west on the 25th of November, being accompanied out of the town by the Háj Edris, whom I have had frequent occasion to mention. In order to get everything in readiness, and to be sure of having neglected no precaution to secure full success to my enterprise, I followed my old principle, and pitched my tent for the first day only a couple of miles distant from the gate, near the second hamlet of Kalíluwá, in the scanty shade of a baúre, when I felt unbounded delight in finding myself once more in

the open country, after a residence of a couple of months in the town, where I had but little bodily exercise. Indulging in the most pleasing anticipations as to the success of the enterprise upon which I was then embarking, I stretched myself out at full length on my noble lion-skin, which formed my general couch during the day, and which was delightfully cool.

*Friday, November 26th.* This was one of the coldest, or perhaps the very coldest night which I experienced in the whole of my journeys since entering the fertile plains of Negroland, the thermometer in the morning, a little before sunrise, showing only 9° Fahr. above the freezing point. The interior of Africa, so far removed from the influence of the sea (which is warmer in winter than the *terra firma*), forms, with regard to the cold season, an insulated cool space in the tropical regions in opposition to the warm climate of the West Indies, and the coasts and islands of the Pacific and Indian Oceans. We were all greatly affected by the cold; but it did us a great deal of good, invigorating our frames after the enervating influence of the climate of Kúkawa. We did not set out, however, before the sun had begun to impart to the atmosphere a more genial character, when we proceeded on our journey westward.

We encamped near the well Súwa-búwa, or, as it was called by others, Kabubíya, on the gentle slope of the rising ground toward the north, from whence the busy scene round the well, of cattle, asses, goats and sheep being watered in regular succession, presented an interesting and animated spectacle, more especially coming after and contrasted with the dull life of the capital. The well measured fifteen fathoms in depth, and the inhabitants were so on the alert for gain that they thought it right to sell us the precious element for watering our camels. My whole party were in the best spirits, cheerful and full of expectation of the novelties, both in human life and nature, that were to be disclosed in the unknown regions in the far west. In order to protect ourselves from the cold, which had so much affected us the preceding night, we set fire to the whole of a large decayed tree, which, with great exertion, we

dragged from some distance close to our tent, and thus enjoyed a very moderate degree of temperature in our open encampment.

*Saturday, November 27th.* I now entered Koyám, with its straggling villages, its well-cultivated fields, and its extensive forests of middle-sized mimosas, which afford food to the numerous herds of camels constituting the wealth of this African tribe, who in former times, before the Bórnu dynasty was driven away from its ancient capital Njímiye by the rival family of the Bulála, led a nomadic life on the pasture-grounds of Kánem. Having thus traversed the district called Wódomá, we encamped about noon, at a short distance from a well in the midst of the forest, belonging to a district called Gágadá. The well was twenty-five fathoms deep, and was frequented during the night by numerous herds of cattle from different parts of the neighborhood.

While making the round in the night in order to see whether my people were on the look-out, as a great part of the security of a traveller in these regions depends on the vigilance exercised by night, I succeeded in carrying away secretly the arms from all my people, even from the warlike Ferjáni Arab, which caused great amusement and hubbub when they awoke in the morning, and enabled me to teach them a useful lesson of being more careful for the future.

*November 28th.* Having taken an early breakfast — an arrangement which, in this cold weather, when the appetite even of the European traveller in these regions is greatly sharpened, we found very acceptable — we pursued our journey, passing through the district of Garánda, with deep sandy soil, and rich in corn, cattle, and camels. A great proportion of the population consisted of Shúwa, or native Arabs, who had immigrated from the east.

We encamped after a march of about thirteen miles, having by mistake exchanged our westerly direction for a south-westerly one, near the well called Kagza, and were very hospitably and kindly treated by a patriotic old man, a citizen of the old capital or birni of Ghasr-éggomo.

*Monday, November* 29*th.* Pursuing still a southwesterly direction, our march led us through a district called Rédaní. The district of Rédaní was followed by another called Kangálla, and, after a short tract of forest, a third one, of the name of Meggi. We encamped at length near a group of three wells, where, once a week, a small market is held. In the adjacent hollow a pond is formed in the rainy season. The wells were twenty fathoms in depth.

*Tuesday, November* 30*th.* The district through which we passed to-day, in a northwesterly direction seemed to be rich in pasture-grounds and cattle. Having been warned that along the road no water was to be had, we encamped a little outside the track, near the farming village of Gógoró, where the women were busy threshing or pounding their corn, which was lying in large heaps, while the men were idling about. They were cheerful Kanúri people, who reside here only during the time of the harvest, and when that is over return to their village, Dímmarruwá. The ground hereabout was full of ants, and we had to take all possible care in order to protect our luggage against the attacks of this voracious insect.

*Wednesday, December* 1*st.* We now approached the komádugu of Bórnu, presenting, with its network of channels and thick forests, a difficult passage after the rainy season.

I took a long walk in the afternoon along the sheet of water, which was indented in the most picturesque manner, and was bordered all around with the richest vegetation, the trees belonging principally to the species called karáge and baggarúwa. Farther on dúm palms became numerous; and it was the more interesting to me, as I had visited this district, only a few miles farther north, during the dry season. Guinea-fowls were so numerous that one could hardly move a step without disturbing a group of these lazy birds, which constitute one of the greatest delicacies of the traveller in these regions. A sportsman would find in these swampy forests not less interesting objects for his pursuits than the botanist; for elephants, several species of antelopes, even including the *oryx*

or tétel, nay, as it would seem, even the large *addax*, the wild hog, besides an unlimited supply of water-fowl, Guinea-fowl, and partridges, would prove worthy of his attention, while occasional encounters with monkeys would cause him some diversion and amusement.

*Thursday, December 2d.* Winding round the swamp (for the nature of a swamp, or kulúgu was more apparent at present than that of a branch of the river), we reached, after a march of about three miles, the site of the ancient capital of the Bórnu empire, Ghasr-éggomo, which was built by the King 'Alí Ghajidéni, toward the end of the fifteenth century, after the dynasty had been driven from its ancient seats in Kánem, and, after a desperate struggle between unsettled elements, began to concentrate itself under the powerful rule of this mighty king. The site was visited by the members of the former expedition, and it has been called by them by the half-Arabic name of Birni-Kadím, the "old capital," even the Bórnu people in general designating the place only by the name birni or burni. The town had nearly a regular oval shape, but, notwithstanding the great exaggerations of former Arab informants, who have asserted that this town surpassed Cairo (or Masr el Káhira) in size, and was a day's march across, was little more than six English miles in circumference, being encompassed by a strong wall with six or seven gates, which, in its present dilapidated state, forms a small ridge, and seems clearly to indicate that, when the town was conquered by the Fúlbe or Felláta, the attack was made from two different sides, viz., the south-west and north-west, where the lower part of the wall had been dug away. The interior of the town exhibits very little that is remarkable. The principal buildings consist of baked bricks; and in the present capital not the smallest approach is made to this more solid mode of architecture. The dimensions of the palace appear to have been very large, although nothing but the ground-plan of large empty areas can be made out at present, while the very small dimensions of the mosque, which had five aisles, seem to afford sufficient proof that none but the people intimately connected

with the court used to attend the service, just as is the case at the present time; and it serves, moreover, clearly to establish the fact that even in former times, when the empire was most flourishing, there was no such thing as a médresé, or college, attached to the mosque. The fact is, that although Bórnu at all times has had some learned men, study has always been a private affair among a few individuals, encouraged by some distinguished men who had visited Europe and Arabia. Taking into consideration the great extent of the empire during the period of its grandeur, and the fertility and wealth of some of its provinces, which caused gold-dust at that time to be brought to market here in considerable quantity, it cannot be doubted that this capital contained a great deal of barbaric magnificence, and even a certain degree of civilization, much more so than is at present found in this country; and it is certainly a speculation not devoid of interest to imagine, in this town of Negroland, a splendid court, with a considerable number of learned and intelligent men gathering round their sovereign, and a priest writing down the glorious achievements of his master, and thus securing them from oblivion. Pity that he was not aware that his work might fall into the hands of people from quite another part of the world, and of so different a stage of civilization, language, and learning! else he would certainly not have failed to have given to posterity a more distinct clew to the chronology of the history of his native country.

The way in which the komádugu, assisted probably by artificial means, spreads over this whole region, is very remarkable. The passage of the country at the present season of the year, covered as it is with the thickest forest, was extremely difficult, and we had to make a very large circuit in order to reach the village of Zéngirí, where the river could be most easily crossed. I myself went, on this occasion, as far south-west as Zaraima, a village lying on a steep bank near a very strong bend or elbow of the river, which, a little above, seems to be formed by the two principal branches, the one coming from the country of Bedde, and the other more from the south; but, notwithstanding the great circuit we made, we had to ford several

very extensive backwaters, stretching out, in the deeper parts of the valley, amid a thick belt of the rankest vegetation, before we reached the real channel, which wound along in a meandering course inclosed between sandy banks of about twenty-five feet in elevation, and, with its rich vegetation, presenting a very interesting spectacle. The forest in this part is full of tétel, or *Antelope oryx*, and of the large antelope called "kargum." The few inhabitants of the district, although they do not cultivate a great deal of corn, cannot suffer much from famine, so rich is the supply of the forest as well as of the water. Our evening's repast, after we had encamped near Zéngirí, was seasoned by some excellent fish from the river. However, I must observe here that the Kanúri in general are not such good hunters as the Háusa people, of whom a considerable proportion live by hunting, forming numerous parties or hunting-clubs, who on certain days go out into the forest.

*Friday, December* 3*d.* Having made a good march the previous day, we were obliged, before attempting the passage of the river with our numerous beasts and heavy luggage, to allow them a day's repose; and I spent it most agreeably on the banks of the river, which was only a few yards from our encampment. Having seen this valley in the dry season, and read so many theories with regard to its connection with the Niger on one side and the Tsád on the other, it was of the highest interest to me to see it at the present time of the year, when it was full of water, and at its very highest point; and I could only wish that Captain William Allen had been able to survey this noble stream in its present state, in order to convince himself of the erroneous nature of his theory of this river running from the Tsád into the so-called Chadda, or rather Bénuwé. Though the current was not very strong, and probably did not exceed three miles an hour, it swept along as a considerable river of about one hundred and twenty yards' breadth toward the Tsád, changing its course from a direction E. 12° S. to N. 35° E.

The following day we crossed the river ourselves. I had

some difficulty in concluding the bargain, the inhabitants, who belong to the Tebú-Zénghi, making at first rather exorbitant demands, till I satisfied them with a dollar; and we ourselves, camels, horses, and luggage, crossed without an accident, each camel being drawn by a man mounted on a pair of calabashes, while another man mounted the animal close to its tail. The river proved to be fifteen feet deep in the channel, and about 120 yards broad; but there was a still smaller creek behind, about five feet deep.

At length we were again in motion; but our difficulties now commenced, the path being extremely winding, deeply hollowed out, and full of water, and leading through the thickest part of the forest; and I had to lament the loss of several bottles of the most valuable medicine, a couple of boxes being thrown from the back of the camel. A forest which we passed through extended only to the border which is reached by the highest state of the inundation, when we emerged upon open country, and, leaving the town of Nghurútuwa (where Mr. Richardson died) at a short distance on our right, we encamped a few hundred yards to the south of the town of Alaúne, which I had also passed on my former journey.

Here we entered that part of the province of Manga which is governed by Kashélla Belál.

Having passed the important place of Kadagárruwá and some other villages, we encamped on the 5th near the extensive village Mámmarí, where the governor of the province at that time resided.

*Monday, December 6th.* A small water-course joining the komádugu Waúbe from the north, separates the province of Kashélla Belál from another part of Manga, placed under a special officer, who has his residence in Borzári.

On reaching the town of Borzári, I preferred encamping outside, although there was not the least shade; my heavy luggage and my numerous party rendering quarters inside the town rather inconvenient. The governor, to whom I sent a small present, treated me very hospitably, sending me a heifer, a large provision of rice, several dishes of prepared food, and

two large bowls of milk. This excellent man, whose name is Kashélla Manzo, besides the government of his province, had to regulate the whole intercourse along this road, being instructed at the time especially to prevent the exportation of horses from the Bórnu territory into the Háusa states.

*Tuesday, December 7th.* The first part of our march led through a more dreary tract of country, which was neither very picturesque, nor exhibited any great signs of industry among the natives; but after a stretch of a little more than eleven miles, large, wide-spreading tamarind-trees announced a more fertile district, and a few hundred yards farther on we reached the border of one of the great swampy creeks connected with the southwestern branch of the komádugu, and intersecting the territory of Bedde, which we had now entered. We kept close along its border, which was adorned by fine, luxuriant trees, till we encamped at a short distance from Dáddeger, a place inhabited by Bedde, and at that time forming part of the estate of Malá Ibrám.

*Wednesday, December 8th.* The district which we traversed in the morning was distinguished by a great number of kúka or monkey-bread-trees, the first one we saw being destitute of leaves, though full of fruit.

We had just crossed a swamp, at present dry, surrounded on one side by fine fig-trees and gerredh of such luxuriant growth that I was scarcely able to recognise the tree, and on the other by talha-trees, when, about noon, we emerged into open cultivated ground, and were here greeted with the sight of a pretty sheet of open water, breaking forth from the forest on our left, and dividing into two branches, which receded in the distance. The Bedde call it Thaba-kenáma. The water is full of fish, which is dried by the inhabitants, and either in its natural form, or pounded and formed into balls, constitutes an important article of export. We met a good many people laden with it.

Three miles farther on, turning a little more southward from our westerly direction, we reached the town of Géshiya, once a strong place and surrounded by a clay wall, but at present in

a state of great decay, although it is still tolerably peopled, the groups of conical huts being separated by fences of matting into several quarters. Here we encamped on the north side, near a fine tamarind-tree, where millet was grown to a great extent. The inhabitants of Géshiya, indeed, have very thievish propensities; and as we had neglected to fire a few shots in the evening, a couple of daring men, succeeded, during the night, in carrying away the woollen blanket in which my companion the Méjebrí merchant 'Alí el A'geren was sleeping at the side of his horse. Although he was a man of hardihood and experience, he was dragged or carried along to a considerable distance, until he was forced to let go his blanket; and, threatening him with their spear in case he should cry out, they managed this affair so cleverly and with such dispatch, that they were off in the dark before we were up to pursue them. It was a pity that these daring rascals escaped with their spoil; but, in order to prevent any farther depredations of this kind, we fired several shots, and with a large accordeon, upon which I played the rest of the night, I frightened the people to such a degree that they thought every moment we were about to ransack the town.

*Thursday, December 9th.* Keeping along the northeastern border of the swamp, through a fine country, where the tamarind and monkey-bread-tree were often interlaced, as I have repeatedly observed to be the case with these species of trees, we reached, after a march of about three miles, the town of Gesma, which is girt and defended by the swamp on the south and east sides.

*December 10th.* We exchanged the domain of the monkey-bread-tree for that of the dúm-palm, by giving to our course a northwesterly direction toward Zurríkulo, the queen of the region of dúm palms and the residence of the hospitable Kashélla S'aíd, passing at some distance on our way a comfortable and populous little place, surrounded with a stockade, and bearing the attractive name of Kechídúniyá, "the sweetness of the world," where a little market was held, to which people

were flocking from all sides, male and female, with sour milk, ground-nuts, grain, earthen pots, young cattle, and sheep.

In Zurríkulo I fell into my former route, which I had followed in the opposite direction in March, 1851, and, crossing the northern branch of the komádugu, which at present was two feet and a half deep, and following almost the same road, encamped the next day in Shechéri, the first village of the district of Búndi.

*December* 12*th.* In Shechéri I left my former route, which would have taken me to Búndi and Máshena, and followed a N. N. W. direction, toward the mountainous province of Múniyó, which before the time of our expedition was entirely unknown. Passing through the district of Chejéssemo, to which Shechéri belongs, we entered a forest where the kúsulu or magária, with its small berries, was very common, the ground being covered with tall jungle. We then reached the town of Ngárruwá, surrounded with a clay wall in decay, and here watered our animals.

*Tuesday*, *December* 14*th.* After a march of about six miles through a fine country, occasionally diversified by a rocky eminence, and adorned here and there by fine tamarind-trees, we reached Sulléri, a considerable place, consisting of several detached hamlets, where the most important market in the territory of Múniyó is held every Friday. The place contains about 5000 inhabitants, and was enlivened at the time by a considerable herd of cattle.

Proceeding in a northwesterly direction through this hilly country, and leaving at a short distance on our right a higher eminence, at the western foot of which the village of New Búne is situated, we descended considerably into a hollow of clayey soil of a most peculiar character. For all of a sudden an isolated date palm started up on our right, while on our left the unwonted aspect of a tall slender gónda, or *Erica Papaya*, attracted our attention, the intermediate ground being occupied by a rich plantation of cotton. Suddenly a large "sirge" or lake of natron of snowy whiteness, extending from the foot of the height which towers over Búne, approached on our right,

the rich vegetation which girded its border, along which the path led, forming a very remarkable contrast to the barrenness of the "sirge;" for the whole surface of the basin, which did not at present contain a drop of water, was formed of natron, while people were busy digging saltpetre, from pits about six feet deep and one foot and a half in diameter, on its very border. A short distance off, fresh water is to be found close under the surface, giving life to the vegetation, which bears a character so entirely new in this district; and I gazed with delight on the rich scenery around, which presented such a remarkable contrast to the monotonous plains of Bórnu.

*Thursday, December 16th.* With the greater eagerness we started early in the morning, in order to reach the capital of this little hilly country, which forms a very sharp wedge or triangle of considerable length, projecting from the heart of Negroland toward the border of the desert, and exhibiting fixed settlements and a tolerably well-arranged government, in contrast to the turbulent districts of nomadic encampments. Our direction meanwhile remained the same as on the preceding day, being mostly a northeasterly one.

After a march of about six miles, an isolated date palm announced a different region, and a little farther on we entered the valley of Tónguré, running from west to east, and adorned with a fine plantation of cotton, besides a grove of about two hundred date palms. Having traversed this valley where the road leads to Bílla M'allem Gárgebe, we entered a thicket of mimosas, while the eminences assumed a rounder shape. The country then became gradually more open, scarcely a single tree being met with, and we obtained a distant view of Gúre, situated at the southern foot and on the lower slope of a rocky eminence, when we began to descend considerably along the shelving ground of the expansive plain, laid out in stubble-fields, with here and there a few trees, and intersected by several large and deep ravines.

Having first inspected the site of the town, I chose my camping-ground in a small recess of the sandy downs which border the south side of a concavity or dell surrounding the town on

this side, and laid out in small kitchen gardens and cotton plantations; for, notwithstanding the entreaties of the governor, I did not like to take up my quarters inside the place.

In the evening I received a visit from Yusuf Mukní, the late Mr. Richardson's interpreter, who at present had turned merchant, and, having sold several articles to Múniyóma, the governor of the country, had been waiting here three months for payment. He was very amiable on this occasion, and apparently was not indisposed to accompany me to Sókoto, if I had chosen to make him an offer; but I knew his character too well, and feared rather than liked him. He gave me a faithful account of the wealth and power of Múniyóma, who, he said, was able to bring into the field 1500 horsemen, and from 8000 to 10,000 archers, while his revenues amounted to 30,000,000 of shells, equivalent, according to the standard of this place, to 10,000 Spanish dollars, besides a large tribute in corn, equal to the tenth part, or 'ashúr, which, in all the provinces of Bórnu northwest of the komádugu, in consequence of the governors of these territories having preserved their independence against the Fúlbe or Felláta, belongs to them, and not to the sovereign lord, who resides in Kúkawa. Each full-grown male inhabitant of the province has to pay annually 1000 shells for himself, and, if he possess cattle, for every pack-ox 1000 shells more, and for every slave 2000.

I had heard a great deal about the debts of this governor; but I learned on farther inquiry, that they only pressed heavily upon him this year, when the revenues of his province were greatly reduced by the inroad of the Tawárek. As a specimen of his style of life, I may mention that he had recently bought a horse of Tarkíye breed for 700,000 shells, a very high price in this country, equal to about £50 sterling.

*Friday, December 17th.* Having got ready my presents for the governor, I went to pay him a visit; and, while waiting in the inner court-yard, I had sufficient leisure to admire the solid and well-ornamented style of building which his palace exhibited, and which almost cast into the shade the frail architectural monuments of the capital. I was then conducted into a

stately but rather sombre audience-hall, where the governor was sitting on a divan of clay, clad in a blue bernús, and surrounded by a great number of people whom curiosity had brought thither. Having exchanged with him the usual compliments, I told him that, as Mr. Richardson had paid him a visit on his first arrival in the country, and on his way from the north to Kúkawa, it had also been my desire, before leaving Bórnu for the western tribes, to pay my respects to him as the most noble, powerful, and intelligent governor of the country, it being our earnest wish to be on friendly terms with all the princes of the earth, more especially with those so remarkably distinguished as was his family. He received my address with great kindness, and appeared much flattered by it.

The number of people present on this occasion was so great that I did not enter into closer conversation with the governor, the darkness of the place not allowing me to distinguish his features. I had, however, a better opportunity of observing his almost European cast of countenance when I paid him another visit in order to satisfy his curiosity by firing my six-barreled revolver before his eyes. On this occasion he did me the honor of putting on the white heláli bernús which had consituted the chief attraction of my present, and which he esteemed very highly, as most noble people do in this country, while the common chief values more highly a dress of showy colors. The white half-silk bernús looked very well, especially as he wore underneath it a red cloth kaftan.

The real name of the governor is Kóso, Múniyóma being nothing but a general title, meaning the governor of Múniyó, which, in the old division of the vast empire of Bórnu, formed part of the Yerí. In the present reduced state of the kingdom of Bórnu, he was the most powerful and respectable of the governors, and by his personal dignity had more the appearance of a prince than almost any other chief whom I saw in Negroland. Besides making himself respected by his intelligence and just conduct, he has succeeded in spreading a sort of mystery round his daily life, which enhanced his authority. The people assured me that nobody ever saw him eating; but,

as far as I had an opportunity of observing, even his family harbored that jealousy and want of confidence which undermines the well-being of so many princely households based on polygamy.

Kóso at that time was a man of about sixty years of age, and, unfortunately, died shortly afterward, in the year 1854.

*Sunday, December 19th.* I left Gúre, continuing my march toward Zínder, not along the most direct road, but with the intention of visiting those localities which were likely to present the most interesting features. I therefore kept first in a westerly direction, passing through a mountainous district, and farther on through more open country, with the purpose of visiting Wúshek, a place which had been mentioned to me as peculiarly interesting. The situation of the place has something very peculiar about it—a mixture of fertility and aridity, of cultivation and desolation, of industry and neglect, being situated at some distance from the foot of a mountain range, and separated from it by a barren tract, while on the side itself the moisture percolates in several small dells and hollows; and thus, besides a good crop of wheat, several small groves of date-trees are produced.

*Monday, December 20th.* On leaving Wúshek, we directed our course by the spur of the mountain chain to the south-southwest, crossing several hollows, one of which presented a very luxuriant cotton-ground carefully fenced in by the *euphorbiacea*, here called mágará. The country in general consisted of a broken sandy level clothed with tall reeds. Only here and there traces of cultivation were to be seen. The sun was very powerful; and as we marched during the hottest hours of the day, I felt very unwell, and was obliged to sit down for a while.

*Wednesday, December 22d.* The night was very cold, in fact, one of the coldest which I experienced on my whole journey, the thermometer being only 8° above freezing point; but nevertheless, there being no wind, the cold was less sensibly felt, and my servants were of opinion that it had been much

colder the day before, when the thermometer indicated 22° more.

As the natron lake did not lie in my direct route, I sent the greater part of my people, together with the camels, straight on to Badamúni, while I took only my two body-guards, the Gatróni and the Shúwa, with me. In front of us, three detached eminences stretched out into the plain from north to south, the natron lake being situated at the western foot of the central eminence, not far from a village called Magájiri. When we had passed this village, which was full of natron, stored up partly in large piles, partly sewn into "tákrufa," or matting coverings, we obtained a view of the natron lake, lying before us in the hollow at the foot of the rocky eminence, with its snow white surface girt all round by a green border of luxuriant vegetation. The sky was far from clear, as is very often the case at this season; and a high wind raised clouds of dust upon the surface of the lake.

The border of vegetation was formed by well-kept cotton-grounds, which were just in flower, and by kitchen gardens, where derába or *Corchorus olitorius* was grown, the cultivated ground being broken by dúm bush and rank grass. Crossing this verdant and fertile strip, we reached the real natron lake, when we hesitated some time whether or not we should venture upon its surface; for the crust of natron was scarcely an inch thick, the whole of the ground underneath consisting of black boggy soil, from which the substance separates continually afresh. However, I learned that, while the efflorescence at present consisted of only small bits or crumbled masses, during the time of the bíggela, that is to say, at the end of the rainy season, larger pieces are obtained here, though not to be compared with those found in Lake Tsád—the kind of natron which is procured here being called "boktor," while the other quality is called "kilbu tsaráfu." A large provision of natron, consisting of from twenty to twenty-five piles, about ten yards in diameter and four in height, protected by a layer of reeds, was stored up at the northern end of the lake. The whole circum-

ference of the basin, which is called "ábge" by the inhabitants, was one mile and a half.

We had some difficulty in joining our camels and people, who had pursued the direct road from Keléno; for, having appointed as the spot where we were to meet the northeastern corner of the town of Gadabúni, or Badamúni, toward the lake, we found that it would be extremely difficult for them to get there, and we had therefore to ride backward and forward before we fixed upon a place for our encampment, at the western end of this small luxuriant oasis.

*Saturday, December 25th.* This was to be the day of my arrival in Zínder, an important station for me, as I had here to wait for new supplies, without which I could scarcely hope to penetrate any great distance westward.

Pursuing our northwesterly direction, we reached the town of Zínder, and, winding round the south side of the town, which is surrounded by a low rampart of earth and a small ditch, entered it from the west. Passing then by the house of the sherif el Fási, the agent of the vizier of Bórnu, we reached the quarters which had been assigned to us, and which consisted of two clay rooms. Here I was enabled to deposit all my property in security, no place in the whole of Sudán being so ill famed, on account of the numerous conflagrations to which it is subjected, as Zínder.

The situation of Zínder is peculiar and interesting. A large mass of rock starts forth from the area of the town on the west side, while others are scattered in ridges round about the town, so that a rich supply of water collects at a short depth below the surface, fertilizing a good number of tobacco-fields, and giving to the vegetation around a richer character.

Besides some indigo-dyeing, there is scarcely any industry in Zínder; yet its commercial importance has of late become so great that it may with some propriety be called "the Gate of Sudán." But, of course, its importance is only based on the power of the kingdom of Bórnu, which it serves to connect more directly with the north, along the western route by way of Ghát and Ghadámes, which has the great advantage over

the eastern or Fezzán route that even smaller caravans can proceed along it with some degree of security, that other route having become extremely unsafe. It was then the most busy time for the inhabitants, the salt-caravan of the Kél-owí having arrived some time previously, and all the hamlets situated around the town being full of these desert traders, who during their leisure hours endeavored to make themselves as merry as possible with music and dancing. This gave me an opportunity of seeing again my friend, the old chief of Tintéllust, who however, in consequence of the measures adopted toward him by Mr. Richardson, behaved rather coolly toward me, although I did not fail to make him a small present.

Being most anxious to complete my scientific labors and researches in regard to Bórnu, and to send home as much of my journal as possible, in order not to expose it to any risk, I stayed most of the time in my quarters, which I had comfortably fitted up with a good supply of "síggedí" or coarse reed mats, taking only now and then, in the afternoon, a ride on horseback either round the town or into the large well-wooded valley which stretches along from N. W. to S. E., at some distance from the town, to the N. E. Once I took a longer ride, to a village about eight miles S. S. E., situated on an eminence with a vale at its foot, fringed with dúm palms and rich in saltpetre.

On the 20th of January, 1853, I received from the hands of the Arab Mohammed el 'Akerút, a valuable consignment, consisting of one thousand dollars in specie, which were packed very cleverly in two boxes of sugar, so that scarcely anybody became aware that I had received money, and the messenger seemed well deserving of a present equal to his stipulated salary; but I received no letters on this occasion. I had also expected to be able to replace here such of my instruments as had been spoiled or broken by new ones; but I was entirely disappointed in this respect, and hence, in my farther journey, my observations regarding elevation and temperature are rather defective.

I then finished my purchases, amounting altogether to the

value of 775,000 kurdí, of all sorts of articles which I expected would be useful on my farther proceedings, such as red common bernúses, white turbans, looking-glasses, cloves, razors, chaplets, and a number of other things, which I had at the time the best opportunity of purchasing, as all Arab and European merchandise, after the arrival of the káffala, was rather cheap. Thus I prepared for my setting out for the west; for although I would gladly have waited a few days longer, in order to receive the other parcel, consisting of a box with English ironware and four hundred dollars, which was on the road for me by way of Kúkawa, and which had been intrusted, in Fezzán, to a Tebú merchant, it was too essential for the success of my enterprise that I should arrive in Kátsena before the Góberáwa set out on a warlike expedition against that province, for which they were then preparing on a grand scale. It was thus that the parcel abovementioned, which, in conformity with my arrangements, was sent after me to Zínder by the vizier, and which arrived only a few days after I had left that place, remained there in the hands of the sheríf el Fási, and, on his being assassinated in the revolution of 1854, and his house plundered, fell into the hands of the slaves of the usurper 'Abd e' Rahmán.

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## CHAPTER XIX.

Departure from Zínder—Arrival at Gadawa—Sadíku, the rebel—Arrival at Kátsena—Bel Ghét—Ants—Second residence at Kátsena—Leaves Kátsena—Passage of the wilderness of Gúndumi—First meeting with 'Alíyu—Audience—Presents—'Alíyu sets out on an expedition—Arrival of Dr. Barth at Wurno.

*Sunday, January 30th*, 1853. I left the capital of the westernmost province of the Bórnu empire in the best spirits, having at length succeeded, during my prolonged stay there, in getting rid of the disease in my feet, which had annoyed me

ever since my return from Bagírmi to Kúkawa. I had, moreover, strengthened my little caravan by two very excellent camels, which I had bought here; and I was now provided with a sufficient supply of money, stores, and presents, the total value of which exceeded two thousand dollars, and which seemed to guarantee success to my undertaking, at least in a pecuniary point of view, and gave me confidence once more to try my fortune with the Fúlbe, my first dealings with whom had not been very promising. However, the road before me was anything but safe, as I had again to traverse with my valuable property that border district intermediate between the independent Háusáwa and the Fúlbe, which is the scene of uninterrupted warfare and violence, and, unfortunately, there was no caravan at the time.

The whole country which we traversed on our way westward, besides being richly studded with fixed dwelling-places, was full of parties of A'sbenáwa salt-traders, partly moving on, partly encamped, and having their merchandise carefully protected by fences of corn-stalks. But, although these people greatly contributed to the animated character of the landscape, yet their presence by no means added to the security of the country, and altogether my order of march became now a very different one from what it had been. Throughout my march from Kúkawa to Zínder, with a few exceptions, it had been my custom to proceed far in advance of the camels, with my horsemen, so that I used to arrive at the camping-ground before the greatest heat of the day had set in; but, on account of the greater insecurity of the country, it now became necessary for me to pursue my march slowly, in company with my luggage train.

Thus we reached the village of Ty'rmení, lying at the border of a shallow vale, and surrounded with a strong stockade. Here we fell in with a numerous body of Ikázkezan, mustering, besides a great many on foot, twelve or thirteen men well-mounted on horseback, and thinking themselves strong enough, in their independent spirit, to pursue a contraband road along the border district between Dáura and Kátsena, in order to

avoid paying any customs to the potentates of either. But the restless governor of Dáura keeps a sharp look-out, and sometimes overtakes these daring smugglers.

Near the village of Dámbedá also, which we reached after a march of two miles from Ty'rmení, through a more hilly country, several divisions of the salt-caravan were encamped, and we chose our camping-ground near a troop of native traders, or fatáki. While we were pitching the tent, a Tárki or Amóshagh, mounted on horseback, came slowly up to us, apparently astonished at the peculiar character of the tent, which he seemed to recognise as an old acquaintance; but he was still more surprised when he recognised myself, for he was no other than Aghá Batúre, the son of Ibrahím, from Selúfiyet, the chief instigator of the foray made against us at the time of entering A'ír or A'sben, by the border tribes of that country.

*Monday, January* 31*st.* The district through which we passed was densely inhabited, but it was rather scantily timbered, the ground being clad only with short underwood; detached hills were seen now and then; but after a march of about seven miles, the character of the country changed, kálgo appearing more frequently, while the soil consisted of deep sand. Toward the south the vegetation was richer, several Tawárek hamlets appearing in the distance. Thus we reached a large well, about thirteen fathoms deep and richly provided with water, where a large number of Búzawe, or Tawárek half-castes, of both sexes, were assembled; and I was agreeably surprised at the greater proof of ingenuity which I here observed, a young bull being employed in drawing up the water in a large leather bag containing a supply sufficient for two horses, this being the only time during my travels in Negroland that I observed such a method of drawing up the water, which in general, even from the deepest wells, is procured by the labor of man alone. The young bull was led by a very pretty Amóshagh girl, to whom I made a present of a tin box with a looking-glass in it as a reward for her trouble, when she did not fail to thank me by a courtesy, and the expression of

an amiable "agaishéka," "my best thanks." In the whole of this country a custom still prevails, dating from the period of the strength of the Bórnu empire, to the effect that the horses of the travellers must be watered at any well in precedence to the wants of the natives themselves.

*Thursday, February 3d.* The dense grove of dúm palms through which our road led afforded a most picturesque spectacle in the clear light of the morning sky. The country then became more open; and after a march of four miles, we reached the shallow fáddama of Gazáwa, and, leaving the town at a short distance on our right, encamped a little to the south, not far from a fine old tamarind-tree.

I was enjoying the shade of this splendid tree, when my friend the serkí-n-turáwa, whom, on my first entrance into the Háusa country, I introduced to the reader as a specimen of an African dandy, came up, on a splendid horse, to pay his compliments to me. The petty chief of Gazáwa and his people had been much afraid, after they had received the news of my approach, that I might take another road, in order to avoid making them a present, which has the same value as the toll in a European country. He told me that they had already sent off several horsemen in order to see what direction I had pursued, and he expressed his satisfaction that I had come to him of my own free will; but, on the other hand, he did not fail to remind me that on my former passage through the country I had not given them anything on account of the powerful protection of Elaíjí, which I enjoyed at that time. This was very true; and, in consequence, I had here to make presents to four different persons, although I only remained half a day: first, this little officious friend of mine; then the governor of the town himself, together with his liege lord, the chief of Marádi; and, finally, Sadíku, the former Púllo governor of Kátsena, who at present resided in this town.

Having satisfied the serkí-n-turáwa, I wrapped a bernús and a shawl or zubéta in a handkerchief, and went to pay my respects to the governor, whose name is Raffa, and whom I found to be a pleasant old fellow. He was well satisfied with his

present, though he expressed his apprehension that his liege lord, the prince of Marádi, who would not fail to hear of my having passed through the country, would demand something for himself; and he advised me, therefore, to send to that chief a few medicines.

I then rode to Sadíku, the son of the famous M'allem 'Omáro, or Ghomáro, who had been eight years governor of Kátsena, after the death of his father, till, having excited the fear or wrath of his liege lord, in consequence of calumnies representing him as endeavoring to make himself independent, he was deposed by 'Alíyu, the second successor of Bello, and obliged to seek safety among the enemies of his nation. Sadíku was a stately person, of tall figure, a serious expression of countenance, and a high, powerful chest, such as I have rarely seen in Negroland, and still less among the tribe of the Fúlbe. However, he is not a pure Púllo, being the offspring of a Bórnu female slave. He had something melancholy about him; and this was very natural, as he could not well be sincerely beloved by those among whom he was obliged to live, and in whose company he carried on a relentless war against his kinsmen. Sadíku's house, which was in the utmost decay, was a convincing proof either that he was in reality miserably off, or that he felt obliged to pretend poverty and misery. He understood Arabic tolerably well, although he only spoke very little. He expressed much regret on hearing of the death of Mr. Overweg, whom he had known during his residence in Marádi; but having heard how strictly Europeans adhere to their promise, he expressed his astonishment that he had never received an Arabic New Testament which Mr. Overweg had promised him; but I was glad to be able to inform him that it was not the fault of my late lamented companion, who, I knew, had forwarded a copy to him, by way of Zínder, immediately after his arrival in Kúkawa. Fortunately, I had a copy or two of the New Testament with me, and therefore made him very happy by adding this book to the other little presents which I gave him. When I left the company of this man, I was obliged to take a drink of furá with Serkí-n-turáwa—how-

ever, not as a proof of sincere hospitality, but as a means of begging some farther things from me; and I was glad at length to get rid of this troublesome young fellow.

*Friday, February 4th.* We had been so fortunate as to be joined here at Gazáwa by two small parties belonging to the salt-caravan of the Kél-owí, when, having taken in a sufficient supply of water, and reloaded all our fire-arms, we commenced our march, about half-past two o'clock in the morning, through the unsafe wilderness which intervenes between the independent Háusa states and that of the Fúlbe. The forest was illumed by a bright moonlight; and we pursued our march without interruption for nearly twelve hours, when we encamped about five miles beyond the melancholy site of Dánkamá, very nearly on the same spot where I had halted two years before. We were all greatly fatigued; and a *soi-disant* sheríf from Morocco, but originally, as it seemed, belonging to the Tájakánt, who had attached himself to my caravan in Zínder in order to reach Timbúktu in my company, felt very sickly. He had suffered already a great deal in Zínder, and ought not to have exposed his small store of strength to such a severe trial. Not being able to have regard to his state of health, as there was no water here, we pursued our journey soon after midnight, and reached the well-known walls of Kátsena after a march of about six hours.

It was with a peculiar feeling that I pitched my tent a few hundred yards from the gate (kófa-n-samrí) of this town, by the governor of which I had been so greatly annoyed on my first entering this country. It was not long before several A'sbenáwa people belonging to A'nnur, followed by the servants of the governor, came to salute me; and after a little while I was joined by my old tormentor, the Tawâti merchant Bel-Ghét. But our meeting this time was very different from what it had been when I first saw him; for as soon as he recognised me, and heard from me that I was come to fulfil my promise of paying a visit to the Sultan of Sókoto, he could not restrain his delight and excitement, and threw himself upon my neck, repeating my name several times. In fact, his whole

behavior changed from this moment; and although he at times begged a few things from me, and did not procure me very generous treatment from the governor, yet, on the whole, he behaved friendly and decently. He asked me repeatedly why I had not gone to Kanó; but I told him that I had nothing to do with Kanó; that, in conformity with my promise, I had come to Kátsena, and that here I should make all my purchases, in order to undertake the journey to Sókoto from this place under the protection of its governor, Mohammed Bello. Now I must confess that I had another motive for not going to Kanó besides this; for the Vizier of Bórnu had made it a condition that I should not go to Kanó, as my journey to the Fúlbe would else be displeasing to himself and the sheikh, by interfering with their policy; and I had found it necessary to consent to his wishes, although I foresaw that it would cause me a heavy loss, as I might have bought all the articles of which I was in want at a far cheaper rate in the great central market of Negroland than I was able to do in Kátsena.

I staid outside the town until the following morning, while my quarters in the town were preparing. There was an animated intercourse along my place of encampment, between the old capital and the new place Wagóje, which the governor had founded two years before; and I received the compliments of several active Fúlbe, whose expressive countenances bore sufficient evidence of the fact that their habits were not yet spoiled by the influence of the softer manners of the subjected tribe, although such an amalgamation has already begun to take place in many parts of Háusa.

The house which was assigned to me inside the town was spacious, but rather old, and so full of ants that I was obliged to take the greatest care to protect not only my luggage, but my person from these voracious insects. They not only destroyed everything that was suspended on pegs from the walls, but while sitting one day for an hour or so on a clay bank in my room, I found, when I got up, a large hole in my tobe, these clever and industrious miners having made their way through the clay walls to the spot where I was sitting, success-

fully constructed their covered walks, and voraciously attacked my shirt, all in an hour's time.

My present to the governor consisted of a very fine blue bernús, a kaftan of fine red cloth, a small pocket pistol, two muslin turbans, a red cap, two loaves of sugar, and some smaller articles. The eccentric man received me with undisguised pleasure as an old acquaintance; but, being aware that I had a tolerable supply of handsome articles with me, he wanted to induce me to sell him all the fine things I possessed; but I cut the matter short by telling him, once for all, that I was not a merchant, and did not engage in any commerce. On the whole, he was well pleased with his presents; but he wanted me to give him another small pistol, and, in the course of my stay here, I was obliged to comply with his request. He had a cover made for the pair, and used to carry them constantly about his person, frightening everybody by firing off the caps into their faces.

It was, no doubt, a very favorable circumstance for me that the ghaladíma of Sókoto was at this time staying here, for under the protection of the unscrupulous governor of Kátsena I should scarcely have reached the residence of the emír el Múmenín in safety. The ghaladíma, who was the inspector of Kátsena as well as of Zánfara, had collected the tribute of both provinces, and was soon to start, with his treasure and the articles he had purchased there, on his home journey, so that there did not seem to be time enough for sending some of my people to Kanó to make there the necessary purchases; but circumstances delayed us so much that there would have been ample opportunity for doing so, and thus saving a considerable sum of money. The ghaladíma was a simple, straightforward man, not very intelligent, certainly, nor generous, but good-natured and sociable. Born of a female slave, he had very little about him of the general characteristics of the Fúlbe, being tall and broad-shouldered, with a large head, broad features, and tolerably dark complexion.

I made some considerable purchases in this place, amounting altogether to 1,308,000 shells, employing the greatest part of

my cash in providing myself with the cotton and silk manufactures of Kanó and Núpe, in order to pave my way, by means of these favorite articles, through the countries on the middle course of the Niger, where nothing is esteemed more highly than these native manufactures. Having likewise arranged with 'Alí el A'geren, the Méjebrí who accompanied me from Kúkawa, buying from him what little merchandise he had, and taking him into my service for nine dollars a month, I prepared everything for my journey; and I was extremely anxious to be gone, as the rainy season was fast approaching.

The ghaladíma was also very anxious to be gone; but the army of the Góberáwa being ready to start on an expedition, on a grand scale, against the territory of the Fúlbe, we could not leave the place before we knew exactly what direction the hostile army would take.

Besides this kind of occupation, my dealings with the governor, and an occasional ride which I took through and outside the town, I had a great deal to do in order to satisfy the claims of the inhabitants upon my very small stock of medicinal knowledge, especially at the commencement of my residence, when I was severely pestered with applications, having generally from 100 to 200 patients in my court-yard every morning. The people even brought me sometimes animals to cure; and I was not a little amused when they once brought me a horse totally blind, which they thought I was able to restore to its former power of vision.

Living in Kátsena is not so cheap as in most other places of Negroland; at least we thought so at the time, but we afterward found Sókoto, and many places between that and Timbúktu, much dearer; but the character of dearth in Kátsena is increased by the scarcity of shells in the market, which form the standard currency, and, especially after I had circulated a couple of hundred dollars, I was often obliged to change a dollar for 2300 shells instead of 2500.

I had here a disagreeable business to arrange; for suddenly, on the 18th of March, there arrived our old creditor Mohammed e' Sfáksí, whose claims upon us I thought I had settled

long ago by giving him a bill upon Fezzán, besides the sum of two hundred dollars which I had paid him on the spot; but, to my great astonishment, he produced a letter in which Mr. Gagliuffi, her majesty's agent in Múrzuk, informed him that I was to pay him in Sudán.

Such is the trouble to which a European traveller is exposed in these countries by the injudicious arrangements of those very people whose chief object ought to be to assist him, while, at the same time, all his friends in Europe think that he is well provided, and that he can proceed on his difficult errand without obstacle.

On the 19th of March we received information that the army of Góberáwa had encamped on the site of the former town of Róma, or Rúma, and I was given to understand that I must hold myself in readiness to march at an hour's notice.

Meanwhile the governor of Kátsena, who had received exaggerated accounts of the riches which I was carrying with me, was endeavoring, by every means at his disposal, to separate me from the ghaladíma, in order to have me in his own power; and his measures were attended with a good deal of success, at least in the case of my Arab companion 'Alí el A'geren, who, although a man of some energy, allowed himself too often to be frightened by the misrepresentations of the people. On his attempting to keep me back, I told him that, if he chose, he might stay behind, but that I had made up my mind to proceed at once, in company with the ghaladíma, whatever might happen. I had the more reason to beware of the governor, as, just at the period of this my second stay here, when he knew I was going to his liege lord, I had another opportunity of becoming fully aware of the flagrant injustice exercised by him and his ministers. For the sherif, who, as I have said, had attached himself to my party in Zínder, having died here of dysentery soon after our arrival, he seized upon what little property he had left, notwithstanding that person had placed himself, in some respects, under my protection; and although he pretended he would send it to his relatives, there is no doubt that he or his people kept it back. The

safety of the property of any European who should die in these regions ought to be taken into account in any treaty to be concluded with a native chief; but no such contingency was provided for in draughts of the treaties which we took with us.

*Monday, March* 21*st.* The whole town was in motion when we left; for the governor himself was to accompany us for some days' journey, as the whole country was exposed to the most imminent danger, and farther on he was to send a numerous escort along with us. It was a fine morning, and, though the rainy season had not yet set in in this province, many of the trees were clad already in a new dress, as if in anticipation of the fertilizing power of the more favored season.

The first day we made only a short march of about three miles, to a village called Kabakáwa, where the ghaladíma had taken up his quarters. I had scarcely dismounted, under a tree at the side of the village, when my protector called upon me, and in a very friendly manner invited me, urgently, to take up my quarters inside the village, stating that the neighborhood was not quite safe, as the Góberáwa had carried away three women from this very village the preceding day. I, however, preferred my tent and the open air, and felt very little inclination to confide my valuable property, on which depended entirely the success of my enterprise, to the huts, which are apt to catch fire at any moment; for, while I could not combat against nature, I had confidence enough in my arms and in my watchfulness not to be afraid of thieves and robbers.

In the afternoon the ghaladíma came out of the hamlet, and took his seat under a neighboring tree, when I returned his visit of the morning, and endeavored to open with him and his companions a free and unrestrained intercourse; for I was only too happy to get out of the hands of the lawless governor of Kátsena, who, I felt convinced, would not have been deterred by any scruples from possessing himself of my riches; indeed, he had gone so far as to tell me that if I possessed anything of value, such as pistols handsomely mounted, I should give them to him rather than to the Sultan of Sókoto, for that he

himself was the emír el Múmenín; nay, he even told me that his liege lord was alarmed at the sight of a pistol.

[The party proceeded on their journey for the next nine days without any important incident. They were in constant fear, however, of attacks from robbers, many predatory bands being known to frequent the route which they travelled.]

*March* 30*th*. We reached, a little past noon, the town Sansánne 'Aísa, which was originally a mere fortified encampment or "sansánne." But its advanced, and, in some respects, isolated position as an outlying post against the Góberáwa and Mariyadáwa rendered it essential that it should be strong enough by its own resources to offer a long resistance; and it has, in consequence, become a walled town of considerable importance, so that travellers generally take this roundabout way, with a strong northerly deviation. Here also the wall is surrounded with a dense forest, affording a sort of natural fortification.

Having entered the town and convinced myself of its confined and cheerless character, I resolved even here to encamp outside, though at considerable risk; and I went to the well, which was about half a mile distant to the south, and, being five fathoms in depth, contained a rich supply of excellent water. Here a small caravan of people from A'dar, laden with corn and about to return to their native home, were encamped; and I pitched my tent on an open spot, close to some light cottages of Itísan settlers, who immediately brought me a little fresh cheese as a specimen of their industry, and were well satisfied with a present which I made them in return of a few razors and looking-glasses. These Tawárek are scattered over the whole of western Súdán, not only frequenting those localities occasionally as traders, but even sometimes settled with their wives and children. Their women also did not fail to pay us a visit in the afternoon, for they are extremely curious and fond of strangers.

When I had made myself comfortable, I received a visit from the ghaladíma of the town; he brought me the compliments of the governor, who was a man of rather noble birth, being

nobody else but 'Alí Káramí, the eldest and presumed successor of 'Alíyu, the emír el Múmenín. He bears the pompous title of serkí-n-Góber, "lord of Góber," although almost the whole of that country is in the hands of the enemy. Having taken his leave, the messenger soon returned, accompanied by Alháttu, the younger brother of the ghaladíma of Sókoto, who was anxious to show his importance, bringing me a fat sheep as a present, which I acknowledged by the gift of a fine heláli bernús, besides a red cap and turban; and the governor expressed his satisfaction at my present by sending me also corn for my horses, and half a dozen fowls. In the evening we had a short but violent tornado, which usually indicates the approach of the rainy season; but no rain fell, and we passed the night very comfortably in our open encampment, without any accident.

*Thursday, March* 31*st.* We had a very difficult day's march before us—the passage of the wilderness of Gúndumi—which can only be traversed by a forced march, and which, even upon a man of Captain Clapperton's energies, had left the impression of the most wearisome journey he had ever performed in his life. But, before returning into our westerly direction, we had first to follow a northwesterly path leading to a large pond or tebki, in order to provide ourselves with water for the journey. It was still a good-sized sheet of water, though torn up and agitated by numbers of men and animals that had preceded our party from the town, and we were therefore very fortunate in having provided ourselves with some excellent clear water from the well close to our place of encampment. The pond was in the midst of the forest, which toward the outskirts presented a cheerful aspect, enlivened by a great number of sycamore-trees, and even a few delèb palms, but which here assumed the more monotonous and cheerless character which seems to be common to all the extensive forests of Negroland.

The beginning of our march, after we had watered our animals and filled our water-skins, was rather inauspicious, our companions missing their way, and with bugles calling me and my people, who were pursuing the right track, far to the south,

till, after endeavoring in vain to make our way through an impervious thicket, and after a considerable loss of time, anything but agreeable at the beginning of a desperate march of nearly thirty hours, we at length, with the assistance of a Púllo shepherd, regained the right track. We then pursued our march, travelling, without any halt, the whole day and the whole night through the dense forest, leaving the pond called tebki-n-Gúndumi at some distance on our left, and not meeting with any signs of cultivation till a quarter before eleven the next morning, when, wearied in the extreme, and scarcely able to keep up, we were met by some horsemen, who had been sent out from the camp at Gáwasú to meet us, provided with water-skins in order to bring up the stragglers who had lagged behind from fatigue and thirst. And there were many who needed their assistance — one woman had even succumbed to exhaustion in the course of the night; for such a forced march is the more fatiguing and exhausting, as the dangers from a lurking enemy make the greatest possible silence and quiet indispensable, instead of the spirits being kept up with cheerful songs, as is usually the case. But having once reached the cultivated grounds, after a march of two miles and a half more we arrived at the first gáwasú-trees, which surround the village, which is named after them, "Gáwasú." In the fields or "kárkará" adjoining this village, 'Alíyu, the emír el Múmenín, had taken up his camping-ground, and was preparing himself for setting out upon an expedition against the Góber people.

It was well that we had arrived, having been incessantly marching for the last twenty-six hours, without taking into account the first part of the journey from the town to the pond, for I had never seen my horse in such a state of total exhaustion, while my people also fell down immediately they arrived. As for myself, kept up by the excitement of my situation, I did not feel much fatigued, but, on the contrary, felt strong enough to search, without delay, through the whole of my luggage, in order to select the choicest presents for the great prince of Sókoto, who was to set out the following morning,

and upon whose reception depended a good deal of the success of my undertaking. The afternoon wore on without my being called into the presence of the sultan, and I scarcely expected that I should see him that day; but suddenly, after the evening prayer, Alháttu made his appearance with some messengers of the chief, not in order to hasten my present, but first to give me a proof of their own hospitality, and bringing me a very respectable present, consisting of an ox, four fat sheep, and two large straw sacks or tákrufa containing about four hundred pounds weight of rice, with an intimation, at the same time, that 'Alíyu wished to see me, but that I was not now to take my present with me. I therefore prepared myself immediately; and on going to the sultan's we passed by the ghaladíma, who had been lodged in a court-yard of the village, and who accompanied us.

We found 'Alíyu in the northern part of the village, sitting under a tree in front of his quarters, on a raised platform of clay. He received me with the utmost kindness and good humor, shaking hands with me, and begging me take a seat just in front of him. Having paid my compliments to him on behalf of the Queen of England, I told him that it had been my intention to have paid him a visit two years previously, but that the losses which we had met with in the first part of our journey had prevented me from carrying out my design. I had scarcely finished my speech, when he himself assured me that at the right time he had received the letter which I had addressed to him through the Sultan of A'gades (informing him of the reason why we could not then go directly to pay him our compliments), and that from that moment up to the present time he had followed our proceedings, and especially my own, with the greatest interest, having even heard at the time a report of my journey to A'damáwa.

I then informed him that in coming to pay him my compliments I had principally two objects in view, one of which was that he might give me a letter of franchise, guaranteeing to all British merchants entire security for themselves and their property in visiting his dominions for trading purposes; and the

second, that he might allow me to proceed to Timbúktu, and facilitate my journey to that place (which was greatly obstructed at the present moment by the rebellion of the province of Kebbi) by his own paramount authority. Without reserve he acceded to both my requests in the most cheerful and assuring manner, saying that it would be his greatest pleasure to assist me in my enterprise to the utmost of his power, as it had only humane objects in view, and could not but tend to draw nations together that were widely separated from each other. At the same time he expressed, in a very feeling way, his regret with regard to 'Abd Allah (Captain Clapperton), whose name I had incidentally mentioned, intimating that the then state of war, or "gába," between Bello and the Sheikh el Kánemí, the ruler of Bórnu, had disturbed their amicable relations with that eminent officer, whom in such a conjuncture they had not felt justified in allowing to proceed on his errand to their enemies. In order to give him an example how, in the case of foreign visitors or messengers, such circumstances ought not to be taken into account, I took this opportunity to show him that the ruler of Bórnu, although in open hostility with the most powerful of his ('Alíyu's) governors, nevertheless had allowed me, at the present conjuncture, to proceed on my journey to them without the slightest obstacle. He then concluded our conversation by observing that it had been his express wish to see me the very day of my arrival, in order to assure me that I was heartily welcome, and to set my mind at rest as to the fate of Clapperton, which he was well aware could not fail to inspire Europeans with some diffidence in the proceedings of the rulers of Sókoto.

With a mind greatly relieved I returned to my tent from this audience. The dusk of the evening, darkened by thick thunder-clouds, with the thunder rolling uninterruptedly, and lighted up only by the numerous fires which were burning round about in the fields where the troops had encamped under the trees, gave to the place a peculiar and solemn interest, making me fully aware of the momentous nature of my situation. The thunder continued rolling all night long,

plainly announcing the approach of the rainy season, though there was no rain at the time. Meanwhile I was pondering over the present which I was to give to this mighty potentate, who had treated me with so much kindness and regard on the first interview, and on whose friendship and protection depended, in a great measure, the result of my proceedings; and thinking that what I had selected might not prove sufficient to answer fully his expectation, in the morning, when I arose, I still added a few things more, so that my present consisted of the following articles: a pair of pistols, richly ornamented with silver, in velvet holsters; a rich bernús (Arab cloak with hood) of red satin, lined with yellow satin; a bernús of yellow cloth; a bernús of brown cloth; a white heláli bernús of the finest quality; a red cloth kaftan embroidered with gold; a pair of red cloth trowsers; a Stambúli carpet; three loaves of sugar; three turbans and a red cap; two pairs of razors; half a dozen large looking-glasses, cloves, and benzoin.*

Having tied up these presents in five smart handkerchiefs, and taking another bernús of red cloth with me for the ghaladíma, I proceeded first to the latter, who received his present with acknowledgments, and surveyed those destined for his master with extreme delight and satisfaction. We then went together to 'Alíyu, and found him in a room built of reeds, sitting on a divan made of the light wood of the tukkurúwa, and it was then for the first time that I obtained a distinct view of this chief, for on my interview the preceding night it had been so dark that I was not enabled to distinguish his features accurately. I found him a stout, middle-sized man, with a round fat face, exhibiting evidently rather the features of his mother, a Háusa slave, than those of his father Mohammed

* I may as well add, that the richly-mounted pistols which chiefly aided me in obtaining the friendship of this powerful chief, as well as another pair which I afterward gave to Khalílu, the ruler of Gando, and also several other things, were paid for with my own money, which was forwarded to Tripoli by my family at the suggestion of the Chevalier Bunsen, as well as two harmonica, one of which I gave to 'Alíyu, and the other to the Sheikh el Bakáy.

Bello, a free and noble Púllo, but full of cheerfulness and good-humor. His dress also was extremely simple, and at the same time likewise bore evidence of the pure Púllo character having been abandoned; for while it consisted of scarcely anything else but a tobe of grayish color, his face was uncovered, while his father Bello, even in his private dwelling, at least before a stranger, never failed to cover his mouth.

He received me this time with the same remarkable kindness which he had exhibited the preceding evening, and repeated his full consent to both my requests, which I then stated more explicitly, requesting at the same time that the letter of franchise might be written at once, before his setting out on his expedition. This he agreed to, but he positively refused to allow me to proceed on my journey before his return from the expedition, which he said would not be long; and, acquainted as I was with the etiquette of these African courts, I could scarcely expect anything else from the beginning. He then surveyed the presents, and expressed his satisfaction repeatedly; but when he beheld the pistols, which I had purposely kept till the last, he gave vent to his feelings in the most undisguised manner, and, pressing my hands repeatedly, he said, "nagóde, nagóde, barka, 'Abd el Kerím, barka"—"I thank you, God bless you, 'Abd el Kerím, God bless you." He had evidently never before seen anything like these richly-mounted pistols, which had been selected in Tripoli by the connoisseur eyes of Mr. Warrington, and surveyed the present on all sides. It was to these very pistols that I was in a great measure indebted for the friendly disposition of that prince, while the unscrupulous governor of Kátsena, who had heard some report about them, advised me by all means to sell them to himself, as his liege lord would not only not value them at all, but would even be afraid of them.

Soon after I had returned to my tent the ghaladíma arrived, bringing me from his master 100,000 kurdí to defray the expenses of my household during his absence; and I had afterward the more reason to feel grateful for this kind attention, although the sum did not exceed forty Spanish dollars, as I

became aware, during my stay in Wurno, how difficult it would have been for me to have changed my dollars into kurdí. I then satisfied my friend Alháttu, the younger brother of the ghaladíma, whose behavior certainly was far from disinterested, but who, nevertheless, had not proved quite useless to me.

Although we were here in the camp outside, and the people busy with their approaching departure, yet I received visits from several people, and, among others, that of a Welcd Rá-shid of the name of Mohammed, who, on my return from Timbúktu, followed me to Kúkawa in the company of his countryman, the learned A'hmed Wadáwi. This man, having left his tribe on the southeastern borders of Bagírmi, had settled in this place many years before, and, having accompanied several expeditions or forays, gave me an entertaining description of the courage of the Féllani-n-Sókoto, although he had some little disposition to slander, and even related to me stories about the frailties of the female portion of the inhabitants of the capital, which I shall not repeat.

*Sunday, April* 3*d.* Being anxious that the letter of franchise should be written before the sultan set out, I sent in the morning my broker, 'Alí el A'geren, with a pound of Tower-proof gunpowder, to the prince, in order to remind him of his promise; and he returned after a while, bringing me a letter signed with the sultan's seal, which, on the whole, was composed in very handsome terms, stating that the prince had granted the request of commercial security for English merchants and travellers, which I, as a messenger of the Queen of England, had made to him. But the letter not specifying any conditions, I was obliged to ask for another paper, written in more distinct terms; and although 'Alíyu's time was, of course, very limited, as he was just about to set out with his army, even my last request was complied with, and I declared myself satisfied. I was well aware how extremely difficult it is to make these people understand the forms of the articles in which European governments are wont to conclude commercial treaties. In regions like this, however, it seems almost as if too much time ought not to be lost on account of such a mat-

ter of form before it is well established whether merchants will really open a traffic with these quarters; for as soon as, upon the general condition of security, an intercourse is really established, the rulers of those countries themselves become aware that some more definite arrangement is necessary, while, before they have any experience of intercourse with Europeans, the form of the articles in which treaties are generally conceived fills them with the utmost suspicion and fear, and may be productive of the worst consequences to any one who may have to conclude such a treaty.

The sultan was kind enough, before he left in the afternoon, to send me word that I might come and take leave of him; and I wished him, with all my heart, success in his expedition, as the success of my own undertaking, namely, my journey toward the west, partly depended upon his vanquishing his enemies. Giving vent to his approval of my wishes by repeating that important and highly significant word, not more peculiar to the Christian than to the Mohammedan creed, "Amín, amín," he took leave of me in order to start on his expedition, accompanied only by a small detachment of cavalry, most of the troops having already gone on in advance. I had also forwarded a present to Hammedu, the son of 'Atíku, an elder brother and predecessor of Bello; but he sent it back to me, begging me to keep it until after his return from the expedition. The ghaladíma also, who was to accompany the sultan, called before his departure, in order that I might wind round his head a turban of gaudy colors, such as I then possessed, as an omen of success.

After all the people were gone, I myself could not think of passing another night in this desolate place, which is not only exposed to the attacks of men, but even to those of wild beasts. Even the preceding night the hyenas had attacked several people, and had almost succeeded in carrying off a boy, besides severely lacerating one man, who was obliged to return home without being able to accompany the army. An hour, therefore, after the sultan had left his encampment, we ourselves were on our road to Wurnó, the common residence of

'Alíyu, where I had been desired to take up my quarters in the house of the ghaladíma; but I never made a more disagreeable journey, short as it was, the provisions which the sultan had given me encumbering us greatly, so that at length we were obliged to give away the heifer as a present to the inhabitants of the village of Gáwasú. It thus happened that we did not reach our quarters till late in the evening; and we had a great deal of trouble in taking possession of them in the dark, having been detained a long time at the gateway, which itself was wide and spacious, but which was obstructed by a wooden door, while there was no open square at all inside the gate, nor even a straight road leading up from thence into the the town, the road immediately dividing and winding close along the wall

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## CHAPTER XX.

Residence in Wurnó — Proceedings of 'Alíyu — Excursion to Sókoto — Market of Sókoto — Return to Wurnó — Visit to 'Alíyu on his return from the expedition — Presents — Departure from Wurnó — Reach Gando — Visit to Khalilu.

*Monday, April 4th.* Having entered my quarters in the dark, I had no idea of their character, and it was not till the following day that I became aware of it. They consisted of a spacious court-yard containing nothing but a clay building, which comprised two apartments besides a small granary, built of clay, but which was covered all round with straw at the setting in of the rainy season, in order to protect it from violent rains. The clay hall had been built by A'bú, the elder brother and the predecessor of the present ghâladíma, who greatly surpassed the latter in warlike energy, and who fell in Zánfara during that unfortunate expedition against the Góberáwa, the preparations for which Mr. Overweg witnessed during his stay in Marádi, in the beginning of the summer

of 1851. The principal apartment of this clay hall, supported by two massive columns, with an average temperature of 94°, was an excellent abode during the hottest part of the day, when it felt very cool and pleasant; but it was rather oppressive in the morning and evening, when the air outside was so much cooler. But in the court-yard there was not the slighest shade, all the trees in this quarter of the town, as well as the huts consisting of reed, having been swept away by a great conflagration the preceding year, a young kórna-tree, which had been planted at a later period, only just beginning to put forth its foliage. The whole court-yard, also, was in a most filthy state, characteristic of the manners of the natives in their present degraded moral and political situation. The first thing, therefore, that I had to do, in order to make myself tolerably comfortable, was to cleanse out this Augean stable, to build a hut for my servants, and a shady retreat for myself. I was well aware that the latter, which it was not easy to make water-tight, would become useless with the first considerable fall of rain; but I entertained the hope that before that time I should be able to set out on my journey.

It was market-day, there being a market held here every Monday and Friday, although the great market of Sókoto, which is much more important, even in the present reduced condition of that place, still serves to supply the wants of the inhabitants of all the neighboring towns and villages at large. Sending, therefore, into the market, in order to supply my most urgent wants, I found that corn, as well as meat, was even dearer here than in Kátsena, 100 shells scarcely sufficing for the daily maintenance of one horse, and 800 shells buying no more corn than 500 would have done in Kátsena, while an ox for slaughtering cost 7000 shells; and I bought two milking-goats, in order to enjoy the luxury of a little milk for my tea, for 2700 shells. The only article which was at all cheap was onions. The market is held on a natural platform spreading out in front of the northwestern gate, and surrounded and fortified by a ditch, as, in the present weak state of the Fúlbe,

the market-people are liable to be suddenly attacked by the enemy. This place, as well as the whole of the town, I visited the following day, in company with my friend Alhátttu, who, in acknowledgment of the present I had given him in Gáwasú, and in expectation of more, took me under his special protection; but in crossing the town in a westerly direction from our quarters, I was surprised at its neglected and dirty appearance; a small ravine which intersects the town forming a most disgusting spectacle, even worse than the most filthy places of any of the deserted capitals of Italy. Emerging then by the western gate (the kófa-n-sábuwa), through which leads the road to Sókoto, and which was just being repaired by the people of the ghaladíma, in order to make it capable of withstanding the effects of the rainy season, we turned northward round the town. In front of each gate, on the slope of the rocky eminence on which the town is built, there is a group of wells, each with a little round clay house, where the proprietor of the well has his usual residence, levying on each jar of water a small contribution of five shells; but there are also a great number of wells facing the northwestern gate, close to the market.

Having surveyed the broad dry valley of the gulbi, we turned round the precipitous cliffs over which winding paths led up to the town, and, having skirted for a while a small branch or korámma, which farther on turns away, we kept along the eastern side of the town, and re-entered the place from the southeastern corner, through the gate by which we had made our first entrance.

*Friday, April 8th.* It was again market-day, and I made sundry purchases, including a small ox, for almsgiving, as I had made it a rule, in every large town where I staid any considerable time, to distribute alms among the poor. I was astonished at the great quantity of cotton which was brought into the market, and which showed what these fine vales are capable of producing, if the inhabitants, instead of being plunged in apathy and exposed to the daily incursions of a relentless enemy, were protected by a strong government.

This very day we received the news that the rebellious Kábáwa, or natives of Kebbi, had made a foray against Señína, a town situated on the most frequented road between Sókoto and Gando, the two capitals and central seats of the power of the Fúlbe in these quarters. The neighboring Féllani had come to the rescue of the town, and had prevented the enemy from taking it, but six horses had been carried away. Only a few days later, the news arrived of another attack having been made by the rebels upon the town of Gando, the residence of Dyang-rúwa, one day's distance to the south from Bírni-n-Kebbi, although this time they were less fortunate, and were said to have been driven back with the loss of twenty-two horses. Meanwhile the sultan himself, with his sluggish host of cavalry, instead of attacking the Góberáwa, who already, before we left Kátsena, had taken the field with a numerous army, was said to be stationed in Katúru. He had been joined by the governor of Záriya in person, while Kanó had sent only the ghaladíma with the whole of their cavalry.

From Katúru, 'Alíyu with his army, after some useless delay, betook himself to Káuri-n-Namóda, whence we received news on the 11th, the Góberáwa having meanwhile taken up a strong position in front of him, without being able to induce him to offer them battle. The dread of these effeminate conquerors for the warlike chief of the Góberáwa, the son of Yakúba, is almost incredible. He has ruled since 1836, and the preceding year had roused the whole of the indigenous population of the various provinces to a struggle for their national and religious independence against the ruling tribe. This dread of him has been carried so far that they have quite obliterated his real name, calling him only Mayáki, or "the warrior." While 'Alíyu was stationed at Káuri-n-Namóda, and part of his army was in Dankárba, the A'zena made an attack upon Ráya, a town situated at a day's distance from the former place. But the whole condition of the country, to the west as well as to the east, was most deplorable; and three native merchants, of the Zoromáwa or Zoghorán, when speaking about my projected journey toward the Niger, and beyond that

river westward, told me, in the most positive manner, "bábo haña," "there is no road;" that is to say, "the country is closed to you, and you cannot proceed in that direction." And taking into consideration the low ebb of courage and enterprise among the natives—the weakness and unwarlike spirit of 'Alíyu — the complete nullity of Khalílu — the vigor of the young and warlike Mádemé, the rebel chief of Kebbi, who, starting from his residence Argúngo, distant only a couple of hours' march from that of Khalílu, was carrying the flame of destruction in every direction — the revolted province of Zabérma, with an equally young and energetic ruler, Dáúd, the son of Hammam Jy'mma — the province of Déndina in open revolt and cutting off all access to the river—all these circumstances rendered the prospect of my accomplishing this journey very doubtful. Moreover, besides the weakness of the two rulers of the Fúlbe dominions, there is evidently a feeling of jealousy between the courts of Sókoto and Gando; and here we find the spectacle of two weak powers weakening each other still more, instead of uniting most cordially in an energetic opposition against the common foe. For instance, the young chief of Kebbi, who at present caused them so much trouble, had been previously a prisoner in Wurnó; but when Khalílu wanted to take his life, 'Alíyu procured his liberty, and gave him a splendid charger to boot.

But a European will achieve what the natives of the country themselves deem impossible; and my friends the Zoromáwa merchants, who wanted to induce me to relinquish my project, had perhaps their own private interests in view. They probably entertained the hope that, in case of my being prevented from penetrating westward, I should be obliged to sell my stock here, which I now kept back as a provision for the road before me. By way of consoling them, I gave them a parcel of beads of the kind called dankasáwa, which I found useless for the countries through which I had to pass, in exchange for some shells I was in want of for the daily expenses of my household.

*Wednesday, April 20th.* A highly interesting and delightful

interruption to my protracted and involuntary stay in Wurnó was caused by an excursion which I made to Sókoto. The first part of this road I had already become acquainted with on a former ride, which had extended as far as Dankému ; but at that period, being more intent upon inhaling the fresh air than upon laying down the country, I had not paid much attention to the extensive cultivation of rice which is going on in this valley, while on this occasion the features of the country, and, in particular, this branch of cultivation, formed a special object of attraction to me. For it was the first time during my travels in Negroland that I had seen rice cultivated on a large scale; and as we were winding along the foot of the rocky hills to the southeast, crossing the various small channels which descend from them and afterward join the greater rivulet which we saw at some distance on our right, the country became dotted with small villages, or "rugga," as they are called by the Fúlbe, some of them of historical renown, such as Dággel, the village where 'Othmán the Reformer had his usual residence before he rose to that great political importance which he attained in after times. But such is the degraded state of these conquerors at the present time, that even this village, which, if they had the slightest ambition or feeling of national honor, ought to be a memorable and venerable place to them for all ages, has been ransacked by the Góberáwa, and lies almost deserted.

It is at Dághel that the valley attains its greatest breadth; but as we advanced in a southwesterly direction it was narrower, till, at the village called Gída-n-mánomí, it became greatly contracted, shortly after which, the river turning away to a greater distance, the path ascended the rocks. It is the same path along which Clapperton, on his second journey, went so repeatedly from Sókoto to Magáriya, but which, from the scanty information obtained from his papers in this respect, has been laid down so very erroneously. In general, I cannot praise too highly the zeal and accuracy (allowance being made for his positions of longitude) with which this eminent and successful traveller, who crossed the whole breadth of the African

continent between the Mediterranean and the Bight of Benin, has laid down his various journeys. On the other hand, the companion of his former travels, Major Denham, has shown great inaccuracy, both with respect to distances as well as to the direction of his various routes.

Soon after starting in the afternoon we fell in with a long marriage procession, consisting of a bride and her mother, both mounted on horseback, accompanied by a considerable number of female servants and attendants, carrying the simple household furniture on their heads.

Proceeding thus over the rocky ground, we reached the small rivulet of Sókoto, the "gulbi-n-Rába" or "Búgga," or, as it is called in its upper course, where I fell in with it on my return journey, gulbi-n-Bakúra.

Ascending then the slope of the eminence on which the town is built, and which rises to about one hundred feet, and leaving a spacious "máriná" or dyeing-place on the slope of the hill on our left, we entered the walls of Sókoto by the kófa-n-rími; and although the interior did not at present exhibit that crowded appearance which made such a pleasing impression upon Clapperton, the part nearest the wall being rather thinly inhabited, and the people being evidently reduced to a state of great poverty and misery, it made a cheerful impression on me, on account of the number of dúm palms and kórna-trees by which it is adorned.

Orders having been sent beforehand, I was quartered without delay in the house of the ghaladíma — a clay dwelling in tolerable repair, but full of white ants, so that I was glad to find there a "gadó" or couch of reeds, where I was able to rest myself, and put away my small effects, without being continually exposed to the insidious attacks of these voracious insects. Having thus made myself comfortable, my first visit the following morning was to Módibo 'Alí, who had already testified his friendship for me by sending me a fat sheep to Wurnó. Differing entirely from the present generation of beggars, whose ignoble habits make a long stay in Wurnó or Sókoto intolerable, he is a cheerful old man of noble demeanor,

and with pure Fúlbe features, with which his middle height and rather spare growth exactly corresponded. He was simply but neatly dressed in a white shirt and a shawl of the same color. Módibo 'Alí is the oldest member of the family of the Reformer still alive, being the son of 'Ali, an elder brother of 'Othmán the Jehádi, and about seventy-five years of age. He was seated in the antechamber of his house, before the door of which his little herd of milch cows were assembled; and he received me with unaffected kindness. I immediately saluted him as an old friend and acquaintance, and we had a very pleasant and cheerful conversation, after which I delivered to him my present, consisting of a heláli bernús, a piece of white muslin, a high red cap or "mátri," a small flask of "óttár" of roses, two razors, a pound of cloves, a loaf of sugar, and a looking-glass; and he was particularly delighted with some of these articles, which, on account of the insecurity of the road at the present time, are imported more rarely even from Kanó

Having thus commenced an acquaintance with the most respectable man in the town, I made a longer promenade through its interior, when I found the chief quarter, which had been the residence of Bello, greatly dilapidated, and the royal mansion itself in a state of the utmost decay.

The chief, Hámedu, was at present absent; but I had sent him a present immediately on my arrival in Gáwasú, on account of his influential position, although I thought it politic afterward to keep out of his way as much as possible, in order not to excite any jealousy, Hámedu being one of the nearest, if not the very nearest, to the succession, but opposed by the greater part of the present courtiers. Passing, then, along the well-frequented road which leads out of the town, we emerged from the kófa-n-'Atíku in order to obtain a first glimpse of the country which I was to traverse on my road to Gando.

It was an open level tract, at present without many signs of vegetation; but that part nearest the town was agreeably enlivened by a thriving suburb extending as far as the kófa-n-Tarámnia, and buried in a thicket of shady trees and hedges,

thus presenting altogether a more animated spectacle than the interior of the town itself. Keeping along the machicolated wall, here only about twelve feet high and surrounded by a ditch, and following the path between it and the suburb, we entered the town, and turned our steps to the house of the gedádo, where Captain Clapperton closed his meritorious career as an African explorer.

The house is still in tolerable repair, 'Abdú, the son of the gedádo, who, although not very energetic, and still less warlike, is a man of cheerful disposition and good principles, having too great a veneration for his father, who did so much toward embellishing and adorning this town, to allow his residence to go to ruin. The old gedádo had long outlived his master Bello, and if I had proceeded to Sókoto directly from A'gades, I should still have found him alive, for he only died during my presence in Kanó in February, 1851. I will here only mention that it was believed for a moment in England that Clapperton died from the effects of poison; but the amount of fatigue, privations, and sickness to which this most eminent of African travellers was exposed on his circuitous journey, by way of Núpe and Kanó, from the coast as far as this place, explains fully how he was unable to withstand the effects of the shock which mental disappointment exercised upon him; nay, it is wonderful how he bore up so long, if his own hints with regard to the state of his health are taken into account.

In the evening, my old friend Módibo 'Alí, and the mother of A'bú, the elder and more warlike brother of the present ghaladíma, who was slain by the Góberáwa two years before my visit to this place, treated me hospitably, and I sent a present to S'aídu, a younger son of Bello, who resides in Sókoto, and is considered as a sort of mayor.

*Friday, April 22d.* It was the great market-day, which was of some importance to me, as I had to buy a good many things, so that I was obliged to send there a sum of 70,000 shells; but the market did not become well-frequented or well-stocked till between two and three o'clock in the afternoon, when I myself proceeded thither. I had taken a ride in the

morning through the south-eastern quarter of the town, proceeding through the kófa-n-'Atíku, thence along the wall, toward the west, and re-entered the town by the kófa-n-'Alí Jédu, where the whole quarter is very desolate, even the wall being in a state of decay, and the fine mosque, built by the gedádo during Clapperton's stay here, fallen entirely to ruins. But, even in the present reduced condition of the place, the market still presented a very interesting sight, the numerous groups of people, buyers as well as sellers, and the animals of various descriptions, being picturesquely scattered over the rocky slope, as I have endeavored to represent in the plate opposite. The market was tolerably well attended, and well supplied, there being about thirty horses, three hundred head of cattle for slaughtering, fifty takérkere, or oxen of burden, and a great quantity of leather articles (this being the most celebrated branch of manufacture in Sókoto), especially leather bags, cushions, and similar articles, the leather dressed and prepared here being very soft and beautiful. There were more than a hundred bridles for sale, the workmanship of which is very famous throughout all this part of Negroland; but especially a large quantity of iron was exposed for sale, the iron of Sókoto being of excellent quality and much sought for, while that of Kanó is of bad quality. A good many slaves were exhibited, and fetched a higher price than might be supposed, a lad of very indifferent appearance being sold for 33,000 shells; I myself bought a pony for 30,000, It being just about the period when the salt-caravan visits these parts, dates also, which usually form a small addition to the principal merchandise of those traders of the desert, were to be had; and I filled a leather bag for some 2000 shells, in order to give a little more variety to my food on the long road which lay before me.

Altogether my visit to Sókoto formed a most interesting intermezzo to my involuntary stay in the capital, although it could not fail to give me a farther insight into the frail character of the dominion of the Fúlbe over these regions; and during my stay here I certainly had no cause to complain of inhospitable treatment, as my friend Módibo 'Alí sent me every day a large

basin of furá, the favorite drink of ghussub water, two dishes of hasty pudding, and two bowls of milk. Having given, by this excursion to the former capital, fresh energy to my spirits, I returned to my quarters in Wurnó on the 24th, accomplishing the distance in little more than four hours; and it was time that I returned, for in the evening of that same day the joyful news arrived that the sultan had reached Gándi. However, he did not enter Wurnó till the 23d, having forwarded a message to me the preceding evening from Yan-serkí, in the territory of Rába, requesting me to meet him the following morning outside the town. In consequence of this, I mounted on horseback with the first dawn of day, but found the sultan already close to the gate, descending the rocky path which leads from the abovementioned place. He then made a halt with his whole suite, and saluted me in the kindest manner, calling me by my name, 'Abd el Kerím. The sultan was followed by the ghaladíma; and I here first made the acquaintance of the learned 'Abd el Káder dan Taffa (Mustapha), whom I was most anxious to see, in order to obtain from him some historical information. As soon as the people had dispersed quietly, returning to their various quarters, I sent him a present, when he paid me a visit in the evening, and furnished me immediately with some positive data with regard to the history of the dynasty of the Asáki or A'skia, the rulers of Songhay, which he had perfectly in his head, and which were of the greatest importance in giving me an insight into the historical relation of the western countries of these regions with that of Central Negroland.

*April 29th.* In the forenoon I went to 'Alíyu, in order to pay my compliments to him upon his safe return from this expedition, which, although not very glorious, had yet proved not quite unprofitable, he having reduced to subjection the poor little hamlets of the rocky district of Kotórkoshé, the inhabitants of which had previously placed themselves under the protection of the enemy; but even this insignificant victory he had only achieved through the bravery of the horsemen from Kátsena, while his own men had, as usual, exhibited the greatest

cowardice. As long as the Fúlbe do not defeat the host of the Góberáwa, who take the field every year and offer them battle, the state of this empire will become daily worse and worse, while at present each of the two parties, the indigenous inhabitants as well as the conquerors, do nothing but accelerate the ruin of the country, without dealing a decided blow.

Although I had made the chief a very respectable present on my first arrival, I thought it well to give greater impulse to his friendly disposition toward me by adding something also this time, presenting him with a cloth waistcoat and several smaller articles, besides a musical box, with the performance of which he was extremely pleased; but, unfortunately, when, anxious to impart his delight to his greatest friend and principal minister, 'Abdú, the son of Gedádo, he had called the latter to witness this wonder, the mysterious box, affected by the change of climate and the jolting of the long journey, was silent for a moment, and would not play. I may observe here that I think it better for travellers not to make such presents as musical boxes, which so easily get out of order. The sultan fully granted my request for a speedy departure, promising also to assist me in my dangerous undertaking with a small "rékkia" or escort; and it was very essential to me to hasten my proceedings, as the following day brought the first evident proof of the approach of the rainy season.

Having made a present to the ghaladíma also, I thought it better, in order to make up for the deficiency of the musical box, to satisfy the musical taste of the sultan by making him a present of one of the harmonica which the Chevalier Bunsen, in consideration of the great effect which the Rev. Mr. Knoblecher had produced with the aid of such an instrument upon the inhabitants of the shores of the Nile, had procured for me; but I succeeded afterward in repairing, in some measure, the musical box, which caused the good-natured chief inexpressible delight, so that he lost no time in writing for me a commendatory letter to his nephew Khalílu, the chief of Gando. But I was extremely anxious to get away from this place, as I was sorely pestered by begging-parties, the inhabitants of

Wurnó and Sókoto being the most troublesome beggars in the world, and besides them there being also many strangers in the town, especially the Kélgeres, who had brought the salt.

Meanwhile the country became more unsafe; and on the 5th of May the cattle of the village of Saláme were driven off by the people of Chéberi, to the great loss of my friend 'Abd el Káder dan Taffa, who had considerable property there; but strongly reminded of the effects of the rainy season by a heavy shower which fell on the 6th, driving me out of my cool shed, I urged my departure, and in the afternoon of the 8th took leave of 'Alíyu with cheerful spirit, it being evident to me not only that he entertained not the slightest mistrust of my future proceedings, but on the contrary, even took considerable interest in me, as he found that it was my earnest desire to become well acquainted with the country and the people, and that I was anxious to establish friendly relations with the most distinguished and learned among them. But he gave me repeatedly to understand that he wished me not to go to Hamdalláhi, to present my compliments to their countrymen and co-religionists there and their chief or his successor, we having just received a few days previously the news of the death of Shékho A'hmedu, while he had not the slightest objection to my going to Timbúktu, and paying a visit to the Sheikh El Bakáy, who had spent some time in Sókoto, and was on friendly terms with the family of Fódiye.

*Sunday, May 8th.* At length I was able to pursue my journey, which now, as soon as I had passed Sókoto, was to lead me into almost unknown regions, never trodden by European foot.

I was escorted out of the town, in grand style, by the ghaladíma with six horsemen, and then pursued my former track to Sókoto.

I was lodged in my old quarters, in the house of the ghaladíma, and was treated by my old friends Módibo 'Alí and S'aíd with great hospitality. Although most anxious, on account of the season, to continue my journey with the shortest possible delay, I remained here the four following days, in

order to procure what was still wanted in my outfit for the long journey before me, but principally from regard to the interests of my companion, 'Alí el A'geren, who had here to arrange some business; hence we did not set out until the 14th of May.

There had been so heavy a shower the preceding afternoon, that a large stream broke through the roof of my dwelling, and placed my whole room several inches under water. I passed, therefore, a most uncomfortable night, and when I got up in the morning I had a very bad headache. Everything, also, was extremely wet, so that it took us a long time to get ready our camels, and it was eight o'clock when we left the kófa-n-Tarámnia, which, though the widest of the gates of the town, did not allow my two largest boxes to pass without damage.

Thus we entered the large open plain, which is only bounded, at the distance of about three miles to the north, by a low chain of hills, and scarcely dotted with a single tree. Having then passed a larger village, called Kaffaráwa, we crossed a considerable depression or hollow, stretching from S.W. to N.E., and this depression was soon succeeded by others of a like nature. Numerous herds of cattle were here grazing on the intervening pasture-grounds, which were adorned with sycamores and monkey-bread trees; and this continued till we reached Bodínga, and took up our quarters in a small cluster of huts lying on the outside, close to the wall.

*Sunday, May 15th.* While we were loading our camels, the governor of the town, who is a son of Módibo 'Alí, of the name of Mohámmedu, came out to pay me his compliments. He was of a cheerful disposition, and had treated us hospitably the preceding evening. He even accompanied me to a considerable distance, till we left, on our right, the town of Sifáwa or Shifáwa, an important place in the history of the Púllo reformer 'Othmán dan Fódiye, but at present almost desolate and reduced to great misery, presenting a fair specimen of the state of the province of Gando, which we here entered.

*Tuesday, May 17th.* We reached Gando, the residence of a powerful Púllo prince (as powerful as that of Sókoto).

As we approached the town of Gando, I could not help wondering how the people had been led to choose this locality as the seat of a large empire, commanded as it was by hilly chains all around, while the rising ground would have offered a far more suitable locality. But the situation of the town is on a par with the character of its dominion—without commanding strength, and quite incapable of keeping together that large agglomeration of provinces which have gathered around it. However, for a provincial town, the interior is very pleasant and animated, being adorned with a variety of trees, among which the banana is prominent.

Having sent a messenger in advance, I soon obtained quarters in the house of El Khassa, the chief eunuch of the court; but they were extremely narrow and unpleasant, although I had a very good clay house for myself.

Thus I had entered the residence of another very important Púllo chief, whose dominion extended several hundred miles over the country which I had to traverse, and whose friendship it was of the utmost importance for me to secure, as his provinces inclose both banks of the Niger, while the dominion of the Sultan of Sókoto does not reach the principal branch at all. It was the more unfavorable that the present ruler of this very extensive kingdom should be a man without energy, and most inaccessible to a European and a Christian. His name is Khalílu, and he is the son of 'Abd Alláhi, the brother of the great Reformer 'Othmán, to whom that remarkable man, at his death, gave the western part of his vast domains, while he installed the celebrated Sultan Bello over the eastern portion. Khalílu succeeded to his brother Mohammed Wáni about seventeen years ago, and has since lived in a state of the greatest seclusion, well fitted for a monk, but by no means suited to the ruler of a vast empire, employing one of his brothers in order to keep up a certain show of imperial dignity where it was absolutely necessary. Thus, during the first few years of his reign, he had employed 'Abd el Kádiri, and

was now employing Halíru, or, as the name is written, Hadhíru. Even by Mohammedans he is scarcely ever to be seen except on Fridays. It appeared, from my first arrival, extremely doubtful whether he would allow me to see his holy face; and after a vain struggle, merely in order that, by an untimely obstinacy in matters of form, I might not frustrate all my schemes of discovery, I agreed at length to deliver my present to the messengers of the sultan, in his palace, without seeing him. This present consisted of almost the same number of articles as I had given to the emír of Sókoto, with the exception of the silver-mounted pistols. I gave him three bernúses, one of yellow, one of red cloth, and the third of the kind called heláli; a háik or jeríd of the finest quality, a Stambúli carpet, two entire pieces of muslin, a red cap, four loaves of sugar, three phials of rose oil, a pair of razors, five looking-glasses, a pound of cloves, and another of benzoin.

It was very unfortunate that a foreigner and an adventurer, who had no other interest than his own selfishness, became the go-between with me and the sultan, and found ample opportunities, owing to the monkish character of the latter, for advancing his own interests, in the thousand embarrassments which he caused me. This was El Bakáy, a person who made me hate his very name, though it afterward became so dear to me on account of my protector in Timbúktu being called by the same. However, he also was an Arab from the west, and from the tribe of the Kunta, but not connected in any way with the family of the sheikh. After having tried his fortune in several other places along the Niger, especially in Zágha and Yélu, he had at length settled down here, constituting himself a sort of consul of the Arabs, and, in the miserable state into which affairs were plunged in this court, soon exercising a great influence over the principal and the secondary rulers; for, besides Khalílu, his several brothers enjoyed a large share of authority, to all of whom I had, in consequence, to make suitable presents besides. The most remarkable among them were the above-mentioned Halíru and Bú-Bakr Maiguña, the latter an aspiring and restless man, who occasionally distin-

guished himself by acts of great violence, and to whom, in consequence, I had to make a more respectable present, in order to insure myself against any predatory proceedings on his part.

My present to the sultan himself seemed at first to have given great satisfaction; but after a few days, matters assumed a different aspect, and I was told that the pistols which I had given to 'Alíyu were of more value than the whole of the presents which Khalílu had received from me, while the empire of the latter extended over a larger tract of country than that of the former; and I was clearly given to understand that it was not in my power either to proceed or even to retrace my steps, unless I gave much larger presents. After a protracted and serious dispute with El Bakáy and my broker 'Alí el A'geren, I came at length to the determination of sacrificing the second handsome pair of silver-mounted pistols which I possessed, and then at length I had some prospect of being allowed to proceed on my journey, although the state of the country before me was really such as to make progress appear very difficult, and it was certainly very doubtful whether I should be able to reach the river. After much trouble and a great number of presents, however, which I had to give to the crafty Arab, I managed even to obtain a letter of franchise from Khalílu written with his own hand, but in so general a style that it had not much the character externally of an official document, although its contents were altogether very satisfactory, guaranteeing full security to any Englishmen visiting his territories, and commanding the officers of the various provinces to respect their property and to facilitate their proceedings.

Besides the presents to be given to all these people, I had also to make a fresh sacrifice to my Arab 'Alí el A'geren; for, notwithstanding the arrangement which I had previously made with him, when he saw the difficulties I was in, and being aware that the easy part of my journey was now over, he threatened to leave me if I did not accept the conditions which he prescribed to me. I had also the misfortune to lose, during my stay here, my best camel, which I had bought from the go-

vernor of Kátsena for 60,000 shells; so that I was obliged to purchase another animal from Bú Bakr Maiguña at the price he demanded, camels here being very scarce.

The kingdom or empire of Gando, according to its title, comprises a number of wealthy provinces, all lying along that great West-African river which opens such an easy access into this continent, or on its branches, although nobody who stays in the capital for any length of time would suppose that it holds such a pre-eminent rank.

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## CHAPTER XXI.

Approach to the Niger—Arrival at the Niger — Town of Say — Sebba—Libtáko — Dóre — Skill and address of Waláti — Camp of the Tawárek—Arrival at Bourbarra.

*Saturday, June 4th.* At length I was allowed to proceed on my journey, which now soon promised to become of overwhelming interest, as I was approaching that great African river which has been the object of so much discussion and individual ambition for so long a period.

[During the first sixteen days of the journey which Dr. Barth now entered upon, no incident of importance occurred. He passed through the province of Kebbi, and visited several Songhay villages, hearing constant rumors of danger from robbers, and receiving protection from several chiefs to whom he made presents. We resume his journal as he approaches the Niger.]

*Sunday, June 19th.* The district, through which lay the first part of this day's march, was extremely parched, and suffering from want of rain, and in consequence of this drought, notwithstanding the advanced season, the ground hereabout had not yet been brought under cultivation; but after a march of a little more than three miles, through a country partly laid out in fields, partly covered with underwood, we entered a district which had been more favored with rain, and where the

labors of the field had begun. The people here make use of a hoe with a long handle, of a different shape from what I have observed in other quarters.

Forest and cultivated ground then again succeeded each other alternately; and having passed a farming-village of some extent called Tanna, we took up our quarters about four miles beyond, in a village called Tóndifú, but were obliged to use force to obtain a hut for our use, as the head man of the village was too lazy, or too obstinate, to leave his cool shed in the heat of the day. The hamlet, which is rather a miserable one, has received its name from lying at the commencement of a rocky district, which extends from here to the river, a hill or mound being called "tóndi" in the Songhay language. We were now close to the Niger; and I was justified in indulging in the hope that I might the next day behold with my own eyes that great river of Western Africa, which has caused such intense curiosity in Europe, and the upper part of the large eastern branch of which I myself discovered.

*Monday, June 20th.* Elated with such feelings, I set out the next morning, at an early hour; and after a march of a little less than two hours, through a rocky wilderness covered with dense bushes, I obtained the first sight of the river, and in less than an hour more, during which I was in constant sight of this noble spectacle, I reached the place of embarkation, opposite the town of Say.

In a noble unbroken stream, though here, where it has become contracted, only about 700 yards broad, hemmed in on this side by a rocky bank of from twenty to thirty feet in elevation, the great river of Western Africa (whose name, under whatever form it may appear, whether Dhiúlibá, Máyo, Eghírrëu, I'sa, Kwára, or Báki-n-rúwa, means nothing but "the river," and which therefore may well continue to be called the Niger) was gliding along, in a N. N. E. and S. S. W. direction, with a moderate current of about three miles an hour. On the flatter shore opposite, a large town was spreading out, the low rampart and huts of which were picturesquely overtopped by numbers of slender dúm palms.

*The Isa (Niger) at Say.*

This is the river-town, or "ford," the name Say meaning, in this eastern dialect, "the river." The Fúlbe call it Ghútil, which name may originally have been applied to the ford at the island of Oitilli. The banks at present were not high; but the river, as it rises, approaches the very border of the rocky slope.

I had sent a messenger in advance, the preceding day, in order to have some large boats ready for me to cross the river. But no boat having arrived, I had plenty of leisure for contemplating the river scenery, which is represented in the plate opposite. There were a good number of passengers, Fúlbe and Songhay, with asses and pack-oxen, and there were some smaller boats in readiness suitable to their wants; but at length the boats, or rather canoes, which were to carry me and my effects across, made their appearance. They were of good size, about forty feet in length, and from four to five feet in width in the middle, consisting of two trunks of trees hollowed out, and sewn together in the centre. These boats are chiefly employed for conveying the corn from the town of Sínder, which lies higher up the river, to the town of Say; and they had been expressly sent for by the "king of the waters," or the inspector of the harbor, the "serkí-n-jirgí," or "lámido-lála," as he is called by the Fúlbe, or "híyokoy," according to his title in the Songhay language. The largest of them was able to carry three of my camels; and the water was kept out much better than I had ever yet found to be the case with the native craft of the inhabitants of Negroland.

My camels, horses, people, and luggage having crossed over without an accident, I myself followed, about one o'clock in the afternoon, filled with delight when floating on the waters of this celebrated stream, the exploration of which had cost the sacrifice of so many noble lives. A little nearer the western bank, a short distance below the spot where the river is generally crossed, an isolated rock starts forth from the river, rising at this season from twelve to fifteen feet above the surface; and beyond there is a smaller one, which, as the river rises a little higher, becomes covered by the water. The sight of the river

was the more momentous to me, as I was soon again to take leave of it; for my former notion, that I should be able to reach Timbúktu only by way of Libtáko, had been confirmed in Gando, and I only entertained a slight hope that perhaps on a future occasion I might visit that part of the river between Timbúktu and Say. From the very beginning I entertained strong doubts whether I should be able to reach the western coast; and it seemed to me more interesting to survey the course of the Niger between the point where it has become tolerably well known by the labors of Mungo Park and Réné Caillié, and the lower portion explored by the Landers, than to cross the whole extent of Central Africa.

Having presented myself at the governor's house, I soon obtained quarters; but they were not at all according to my fancy, being small and narrow. The town, in its very low position, is not refreshed by a single current of air, and altogether has a very oppressive atmosphere. The huts in these Songhay places are made rather for women than for men, the greater part of such huts being occupied by the female apartment or the alkilla, and the bedstead or serir, made of the branches of trees, being inclosed in a separate chamber of mats, and thus leaving only a very small entrance, and obstructing the whole interior of the dwelling, and I was obliged first of all to take down one of these small matting bed-rooms in order to obtain some little ventilation in my hut. At length I had made myself somewhat comfortable, when the governor sent two calabashes of rice in the husk, and two others of millet, but no refreshment for the moment, though I stood very much in need of it, having been exposed to the sun during the hottest part of the day. To the master of the harbor, who had so opportunely supplied me with the large boats, I made a present of 1000 shells. Very little rain had fallen as yet in this neighborhood; and a thunder-storm which broke out in the afternoon did not reach us. Indeed the air in this low valley, which is probably at a level of about 350 feet, was so oppressive, that I felt at times almost suffocated, and unable to breathe.

The following morning I took a ride round the place and its

neighborhood. The shape of the town is tolerably quadrangular, being encompassed on three sides by a low rampart of earth, the side toward the river being unprotected. It is of considerable size, each side measuring about 1400 yards; but the town is only thinly inhabited, the dwellings (all of which, except the house of the governor, consist of matting and reeds) lying scattered about like so many separate hamlets. It is intersected from north to south by a wide shallow depression or vale encompassed by dúm palms, which are almost the only trees either inside or outside the town; and at the end of the rainy season it becomes filled with water, causing great inconvenience to the business of the town and the intercourse between the various quarters, and greatly contributing to its unhealthiness. There can be no doubt that, in seasons when the river reaches an unusual height, the whole town is under water, the inhabitants being obliged to seek safety beyond the borders of the valley.

There is a market held every day in the eastern part, not far from the bank of the river. Poor as it is, it is of some importance in the present state of the country; and hence the town has a great name as a market-place among the inhabitants of Western Súdán, a great many of whom here supply their want of native manufactures, especially of the common clothing for males and females, as the art of weaving and dyeing is greatly neglected in this quarter, cotton being cultivated only to a very small extent. But the place was most miserably supplied with provisions, there being no store of grain whatever. Everything necessary was brought day by day from the town called Sínder —situated about eighty miles higher up the river. I was greatly surprised at not finding here even a vestige of the cultivation of rice, although a large tract of ground on this low island, which, toward the rainy season, becomes partly inundated, is particularly suited to that branch of cultivation. Not even onions are grown in the place; but, fortunately, I had been informed of the circumstance beforehand, and had provided myself with a large supply of this useful article in Gando, where the onions are excellent.

Being detained in this place longer than I wished, and feeling a little better, on the Thursday following I took a ride along the river to some distance below, where it takes a westerly bend, and I was astonished at the dry and barren aspect which this island bore; even here neither rice-crops nor vegetables, as might be expected along the banks of so noble a river, being seen. The island, which during the highest level the river attains becomes almost inundated, bore the aspect of a scorched treeless prairie; and disappointed in my expectation of finding a cool shade, I returned into the town, being cheerfully saluted by all the people whom I met, the name of a módibo or learned man, which preceded me, gaining me the favor of the inhabitants. While passing along the streets, I was delighted to observe a certain degree of industry displayed in small handicrafts and in the character of the interior of the households.

Everything was very dear, but particularly butter, which was scarcely to be procured at all. All the currency of the market consists of shells; but I found the most profitable merchandise to be the black cloth for female apparel from Gando, which realized a profit of eighty per cent., while the Kanó manufactures did not find a ready sale. The black Núpe tobe, of common manufacture, bought in Gando for 3300 shells, here fetched 5000, while the black zenne, manufactured in Gando itself, and bought there for 1050, sold here for 2000. Of course all depends, in this respect, upon the momentary state of the intercourse of this quarter with Háusa; and, at the present time, almost all communication with that manufacturing province being interrupted, it is easy to explain how an article produced in Gando could realize such a percentage in a town at so short a distance from that place—a state of things which cannot form the general rule. At any rate, for the English, or Europeans in general, Say is the most important place in all this tract of the river, if they ever succeed in crossing the rapids which obstruct the river above Rabba and especially between Búsa and Yaúri, and reaching this fine open sheet of water, the great high road of Western Central Africa. The traffic of the natives along the river is not inconsiderable,

although even this branch of industry has naturally suffered greatly from the rebellious state of the adjacent provinces, more especially those of Zabérma and Déndina; so that, at present, boats did not go farther down the river than Kirotáshi, an important place situated about fifteen miles lower down, on the western bank, while in the opposite direction, up the river, there was constant intercourse as far as Kindáji, with which place I made myself sufficiently acquainted on my return journey.

About noon the second day of my stay here I paid a visit to the governor of the town. His name is A'bú Bakr, the son of the far-famed m'allem Mohammed Jébbo. I found him a tolerably cheerful person, although he is wanting in that manliness of character which makes a lasting impression, and he bore evident signs of having been born of a female slave, while his manners appeared to me to possess something approaching to a Jewish character. He, however, was delighted to see me, as I was not only the first Christian who had ever visited this place, which Mungo Park, on his ever-memorable journey, seems to have passed by entirely unnoticed, but especially as I had come at a time when the whole intercourse of the country had been interrupted, and Arabs as well as natives were all afraid of visiting it. Having heard of the great superiority of Europeans over the Arabs, both in point of intelligence and industry, he entertained an earnest wish, if it could be accomplished without detriment to the welfare of his province, that a vessel or steamer belonging to them might come and fill his poor market with luxuries; and it was with the utmost surprise that he learned that I did not trade. But, on the other hand, this led the governor to think that, in exposing myself to such great dangers, I could not but have a very mysterious object in view; and he soon became alarmed, and asked repeatedly why I did not proceed on my journey.

I had already been informed in Gando that A'bú Bakr, two years previously, had navigated the river with a small flotilla of boats, upward as far as Gágho or Gógó, the ancient capital of Songhay, and collected tribute from the Fúlbe or Féllani

settled near that place, but that he had been prevented by the threatening attitude of the Tawárek from penetrating any farther. In consequence of this expedition on the river, made in open boats which were continually filling with water, the governor was suffering very severely from rheumatism, and was scarcely able to move.

Having so many petty chiefs before me, and seeing that this officer did not possess much power, I did not choose to give him a large present; but on my return the following year, when I still had something left, I made him a more considerable present of a bernús.

Having entered a new country, where a language was spoken (the Songhay) with which neither I nor any of my servents was acquainted, and not being able to give much time to its study, as I had to apply myself to the Fulfúlde, the language of the conquering tribe, I was extremely anxious to take into my service a native of the country, or to liberate a Songhay slave; but I did not succeed at this time, and, in consequence, felt not so much at home in my intercourse with the inhabitants of the country through which I had next to pass as I had done formerly. For Gurma, although originally inhabited by quite a distinct race, has been conquered and peopled by the Songhay to a great extent.

*Friday, June 24th.* I now left the Great River behind me, which formed the limit between the tolerably known regions of Central Negroland and the totally unexplored countries on the southwestern side of its course; and with intense interest my thoughts were concentrated on the new region before me.

[After passing through the hilly country of Gurma, and crossing the river Sírba (July 2d), the party reached the little town of Sebba on the 6th of July. This town is the capital of the province of Yágha.]

Notwithstanding the poor character of the place, I was obliged to stay here two whole days, exclusive of the day of my arrival, in order to give the camels some rest, as they were suffering greatly from the effects of the rainy season, and on account of the holiday of the "fotr," which fell on the 8th.

If I had known the character of the province of Libtáko bet-ter, I should have deemed it prudent to make even a longer stay here: and I would advise any future traveller to do so, taking care, however, to have a sufficient supply of shells with him, which will enable him to make himself quite comfortable in Yágha.

Music having announced the arrival of the important and joyful day soon after midnight, almost the whole of the men went out in the morning in order to say their prayers at about a mile's distance from the town. All the Fúlbe were dressed in snow-white shirts, as a symbol of the purity of their creed; but some of them wore dark-blue trowsers. There were about forty horses with the party, which probably was all that the townspeople could muster.

Having had to sustain here a slight religious attack from the kádhi, who wanted to represent me as a sorcerer, I thought it prudent to make a small present to each of the holiday people, as a kind of séddega, or alms. The holiday also disturbed me in compiling a small vocabulary of the Gurma language, called by the Fúlbe Gurman-kóbe, which I had begun, but was obliged to leave unfinished.

*Saturday, July 9th.* We left Sebba, the capital of the wilderness — bírni-n-dáji, as I called it — passing through a district where forest and cultivated ground alternated. The slaves were busy in the fields rooting up the weeds from among the crops; but, after a march of about four miles, we had to cross a very considerable water, which is here called Yáli, and about whose course I am not able to give distinct information. It is said to come from Mósi, and to join the river Sírba not far from Bosebángo; but the latter statement is incredible. The water being not less than four feet and a half in depth, with a breadth of at least four hundred yards, most of our luggage became wetted.

After a march altogether of about eleven miles, we reached the village of Namantúgu, which still belongs to the province of Yágha, the mayor of which we had met a short time before on the road as he was going to look after his cattle.

The village is of some importance, and consists of several groups which cover an extensive tract of ground, lying straggling about in the fields; but the huts themselves are very narrow, and the one which was assigned to myself was so small that there was scarcely room to breathe. Nothing is more unhealthy for a European than these abodes of stench and filth; but during the rainy season he is often obliged to seek shelter in these dirty dwellings, especially if he has valuable property in his possession.

Namantúgu, which seems to have been of considerable importance in the history of the Songhay empire, was a rather eventful place for my whole subsequent proceedings, as I here met an Arab from the west, in whose company I was safely to enter the town of Timbúktu. He called himself Sheikho, though this was not originally his proper name; and, in order not to cause any mistake, I will in future call him (from his father and the name of his birth-place) Weled A'mmer Waláti. He was certainly a very remarkable fellow; and I shall have frequent occasion in the farther course of my journey to advert to his doings. Being originally a native of Waláta, he had emigrated to Timbúktu, whence he had roved about a great deal among the Tawárek as well as among the Fúlbe, and was at present on his way from Belánga, the residence of one of the principal chiefs of Gurma. He had a good quantity of the broad gábagá, or cotton strips, of Mósi with him, which form the staple currency in the whole tract of country from Libtáko to Timbúktu, ten dr'a being reckoned equal to one hundred shells. Besides Arabic, he spoke Fulfúlde, Songhay, Mósi, and Bámbara fluently, and Temáshight, or the language of the Tawárek, almost as well, and altogether was one of the cleverest men whom I met on my journey, in spite of the trouble he caused me and the tricks he played me. He was a handsome man, of middle size and of rather slender growth, and with very fine expressive features. His dress consisted of a long black gown, with a black shawl wound round his head; and his whole appearance, as he was moving along at a solemn thoughtful pace, frequently reminded me of the servants of the

Inquisition. However, his real character at the time of our first meeting was of course unknown to me, and I was delighted at having found such a man, as he held out to me the fairest prospects of reaching Timbúktu. But although I convinced myself that this man would be of great service to me, yet I did not make a bargain with him immediately, but we agreed that I should arrange with him in Dóre, when he would be able to settle his own business.

The village of Namantúgu is almost exclusively inhabited by Fúlbe, all of whom were clad in the purest white, even the little children wearing round their heads a large turban of white cotton strips; but this was perhaps in consequence of their festival having been held the previous day. A great deal of rain had fallen hereabouts; and cotton appeared to be cultivated to a considerable extent.

[On the 12th of July the party arrived at Dóre, the capital of the province of Libtáko.]

Dóre is principally a great place of resort for the Arabs of A'zawád, the district to the north of Timbúktu, who bring to this market the salt of Taödénni in great quantities, and occasionally even reside here for a long time; but they generally come direct from A'zawád without touching at Timbúktu, proceeding by way of Gágho (the ancient capital of the Songhay empire, and once the great gold-market of the western part of Negroland), or still more direct, by Tósaye, the point where the river greatly contracts before it changes from an easterly to a southeasterly course. Some of them are very wealthy people, one individual having as many as forty camels with him. Among other important information, I received from them the news that Hámed Weled Habíb, the sheikh of A'rawán, who, from the account of Caillié, is generally regarded in Europe as the chief murderer of Major Laing, had died a short time before, after a reign of nearly forty years; and I regarded this piece of news as a very auspicious omen for the success of my undertaking.

I was peculiarly situated with regard to my new companion El Waláti, who was the sole reason of my making so long a stay in this place, while my exhausted camels, instead of hav-

ing, as it was asserted, a fair opportunity of recruiting their strength for the remainder of the journey, were growing weaker every day from want of good feeding. The clever Arab, who represented himself as a very important person in Timbúktu, and as an intimate friend of the Sheikh El Bakáy, under whose especial protection I intended to place myself, at times had the power of raising my spirits by the interesting information which he was able to give me. Now and then, for instance, he described the great mercantile importance of Sansándi, or dwelt upon the great authority enjoyed by the chief, whose fame had inspired me with so much confidence in my undertaking this journey to the west, and through whose influence the former mercantile importance of Timbúktu had not only been entirely restored, but a new interest had accrued to it as being the seat of a religious chief of high authority, who exercised an influence not very unlike that of the Pope of Rome over a very large tract of country, and extending even over the pagan tribes around, into the very heart of Mósi, that country which, as we shall see more distinctly farther on, from a remote age has been the champion of paganism against Islám. But, on other occasions, the conduct of my companion was so little straightforward as to fill me with serious fears. Nevertheless, I here entered into an agreement with him, giving him a fine black tobe and a black shawl, and stipulating to reward him on my safe arrival in Timbúktu with a present of twenty dollars and a white heláli bernús, besides buying him here a horse for the price of another tobe, three túrkedí, and a black shawl. On the whole, at that time, I was too much imposed upon by his fascinating manners to become fully aware of his intriguing character; and perhaps it was well that it was so, or I might not have trusted myself into his hands. However, by degrees, I became heartily tired of the long delay which he, together with 'Alí el A'geren, forced upon me.

*Thursday, July* 21*st.* At length I set out on the last and most dangerous stage of my journey to Timbúktu, thinking at the time that I should be able to reach that celebrated place in about twenty days; but I underrated the distance, such a

very different position having been assigned to that mysterious place by geographers; and I had no idea of the difficulties which attended this journey, at least for a Christian, and the delays which would be caused me by the character of the new companion whom I had attached to me.

On leaving the turbulent town of Dóre, a great many armed people accompanied me, much against my inclination, and their conduct was so suspicious that we were obliged to make a halt and send them about their business, for the inhabitants of this place, not long before, had robbed and killed in a similar manner a wealthy sheríf, whom they pretended to escort on his way from Sansándi. Just in crossing the shallow concavity where every year a very extensive sheet of water is formed, which often assumes the dimensions of an immense lake, we met a large caravan of Mósi traders from Bússumo, their asses heavily laden with immense bundles of tári, or cotton strips, and with Kóla nuts. Farther on, where a little cultivation of cotton appeared, the monkey-bread or baobab tree became predominant. Altogether, the whole province seemed to be in a miserable state; and the village Dánandé, which we passed after a march of about seven miles, bore evident traces of having suffered from the effects of war.

[No incident of moment occurred till July 25th, when Dr. Barth was saved from an attack of the natives by the tact and address of his Arab companion.]

*Monday, July 25th.* We rose with the hope that we might arrive at an early hour in Aribínda, or rather the chief place of that district, although we were aware that we should have to cross another considerable sheet of water; but we were sadly disappointed, for, after a march of about three miles through a more rugged district with black and red granite and a great quantity of gneiss, we reached the wide inundations of a river called Búggoma by my companions, which we endeavored in vain to cross. Seeing that we should not succeed here, we struck off into the forest in a southwesterly direction, in order to ford it higher up, when suddenly we fell in with two men who were pasturing a couple of asses; but, although we made

signs to them that we were their friends, they would not hear us, and beating their shields cried out lustily to their companions, who all on a sudden rushed out in every direction from behind the bushes, and in a moment surrounded us. There were from 150 to 200 people, all tall slender men, half naked, with nothing but a poor ragged cloth round their loins, and another rag, still poorer, round their heads, and each armed with a couple of spears and a ragged shield, which they brandished over their heads with warlike gesticulations. The affair seemed rather serious, and here it was fortunate that I had such a clever companion as the Waláti with me; for, while I was pointing my gun, he begged me to ride quietly in advance straight upon those people, and at the same time cried out to them that I was a sheríf, and a friend of the Sheikh El Bakáy, to whom I was carrying a number of books from the east. All of a sudden they dropped their spears and thronged around me, requesting me to give them my blessing; and the circumstances under which I was placed obliged me to comply with this slight request, although it was by no means a pleasant matter to lay my hands on all those dirty heads.

On the whole it was very fortunate that we met with these people; for without their aid and information we should scarcely have been able to cross the water which intersected our track, at least without a most serious loss to our luggage. People in Europe have no idea what it is to travel during the rainy season in these regions; else they would not wonder that poor Dr. Vogel, in going at that time of the year from Yákoba to Záriya, lost most of his instruments and all his collections in crossing the rivers.

They were poor people from G'aó, or Gógó, and the neighborhood, a mixture, as I thought at the time, of Songhay and Tawárek, but speaking only the language of the former; but I found afterward that they belonged to the tribe of the Gabéro. They had visited the market of Aribínda, and were at present on their way to Dóre and Libtáko, carrying as merchandise on a couple of asses and bull oxen nothing but cotton strips, or "tári," rice, and a few mats, of which latter article

they brought me three as a present. Having received my blessing, and the tumult having quieted down, they conducted us to a place where they declared the water to be fordable. But the boggy ground inspired us with but little confidence; and it really caused us an immense deal of trouble. My people were obliged to carry all the luggage, even the heaviest, across the swamp, which was half a mile in breadth, the camels being scarcely able to make their way, even unloaded; and I myself had the misfortune to fall under my horse in the midst of the swamp, almost as badly as had happened to me on a former occasion on my journey to Kánem. I was firmly convinced that my horse would not be able to carry me over, and that it would be the safest way to cross the bog on foot; but I allowed myself to be swayed by the Waláti, who thought that my dignity, in presence of those native travellers, absolutely required me to remain on horseback. It was on this occasion that all my journals got wet through in a most miserable way, and we had the greatest difficulty in extricating my horse from the bog, in which it was lying for some minutes as if dead.

It was almost three o'clock in the afternoon when we again set out from the opposite side of the swamp; but we had first to return along the water in a northeasterly direction, in order to gain the direct track. We then proceeded at an expeditious rate, in order to arrive at Aribínda before nightfall. A short distance before we reached our destination, the whole character of the country changed, granite mounds rising on our right and left to considerable altitude, and leaving only a narrow passage through which to proceed, the beautifully sweeping slope of the eminence on our right being pleasantly adorned with bushes and enlivened by goats.

Having left another village at the foot of the granite range, we took up our quarters in the lamórde or residence of the chief of Aribínda, which is likewise situated at the foot of the granitic ridge, part of the huts being built on the slope, and part in the plain, the latter forming a group by itself, which, with its projecting and receding walls, formed a sort of defence. Here we obtained quarters without delay, two of my people

having gone in advance; but they were narrow, dirty, and uncomfortable, and appeared to us the more miserable as a great deal of rain fell during our stay here.

I had been very anxious to conceal the more valuable articles of my property from the prying eyes of my clever but greedy Arab companion; but the following day, as I was obliged to dry some of my luggage, which had been completely soaked, he got a peep at some fine bernúses which I had with me, and, in order to satisfy his covetousness, I thought it prudent to make him here a handsome present. Altogether my luggage suffered severely from the many water-courses which we had to cross at this stage of my journey, as well as from the excessive dampness of the weather. I also made some presents to the governor, but was rather astonished when, on setting out, he begged from me the very tobe which I was then wearing.

[The party now passed through the village of Fíliyo, to Tínge, where they were delayed by profuse rains.]

*Tuesday, August 2d.* We at length set out to pursue our journey, which now became full of danger, as we had to traverse the province of Dalla, which is ruled by a governor in direct subjection to the fanatical chief of Másina residing in Hamda-Alláhi, who would never allow a Christian to visit his territory. I was therefore obliged to assume the character of an Arab. Just at that time a change in the government of this district had taken place, a young inexperienced lad having succeeded to the former ruler.

Fortunately, there had been no rain the afternoon of the preceding day, so that the country had dried up a little from the inundation of the last of July, and the weather was fine and genial. Thus cheerfully proceeding on our road, we met several people on their way to the town with fowls and milk; for during our stay in Tínge the communication with the neighboring places had been entirely interrupted by the heavy rains. A'bu-Bakr, the head man of Tínge, escorted me to some distance, when he left me with a hearty wish for the success of my undertaking, and begged me urgently to be on my guard. In taking here quite a northerly direction we now entered a

province where the population of the Fúlbe entirely prevails, and this day we had passed several encampments of Fúlbe cattle-breeders on our route, consisting of oblong oval-shaped huts, constructed of matting. Cattle seemed to abound; but the cultivation of the ground was rather scanty, and the character of the country uniform, and without any interesting features, the trees consisting almost exclusively of talha and homéd. We had also to cross a river, at present about 200 yards wide and two feet deep, which the preceding day had evidently been impassable, and had carried away several head of cattle, a fact we learned from a Púllo neatherd whom we passed on our road, as he was cheerfully stalking before his cattle, and leading them along merely by the sound of his voice.

[No incident of importance took place till the arrival of the party at Bóne, on the 9th of August.]

Greatly fatigued by our long march, especially as a cool breeze in the morning was followed by an oppressive heat in the noon-day hours, we reached, at five o'clock in the afternoon, the Fúlbe village of Bóne, situated at the foot of the eastern mound; but, although I had sent two of my people in advance, we were unable to obtain quarters, and after some unavailing dispute we were obliged to encamp outside in the open grassy vale between the two mountains; for the inhabitants of this village, who are exclusively Fúlbe, do not like strangers to enter their dwellings, at least not for a night's quarters. They however treated us in the evening with a good supply of milk, while they also informed us that a large encampment of that section of the Tawárek which is called Iregenáten was at a few miles' distance. El Waláti supposed, or rather pretended to suppose, that they were the clan of a powerful chief of the name of Somki, and assured me that it would be necessary to make this chief a handsome present, in order that under his protection we might proceed safely from camp to camp till we reached the banks of the Niger; for, although we might have travelled by a more southerly road turning from this point westward to Núggera, it seemed more

prudent to endeavor to get out of the range of the dominion of the Fúlbe, in order not to be at the mercy of the chief of Hamda-Alláhi, who certainly could not but be hostile to my intention of reaching Timbúktu. And it seems not to be out of place to mention here that this very Núggera, a hamlet of some note, as being the residence of learning and holiness, was the point from which the founder of the dynasty of Hamda-Alláhi started.

*Wednesday, August 10th.* In conformity with our project, I myself, with El Waláti and two of my people on horseback, leaving my luggage behind with the rest of my servants, started in the morning for the camp of the Tawárek, having provided a very handsome present, consisting of a large Núpe tobe, a red cap, a túrkedí, and three fine "háf" or "lithám," altogether worth about 20,000 shells. However, we had only proceeded about a mile when we met a few Tawárek serfs, who informed us that it was not Somki, but another chief who had moved his encampment to this place; and, from what I observed, I concluded that El Waláti had been well aware of this before, but only wanted to extort from me a large present. Once in the hands of this crafty Arab, I had to use great discretion in order to prevent him from betraying me altogether, and I was obliged to bear silently any little trick which he might play me in order to enrich himself, as long as I proceeded onward and approached the object of my arduous undertaking. We therefore moved on, and, soon leaving the mountains behind us, after a march of about eight miles through a plain covered with dense underwood, reached the encampment of the Tawárek.

This was a very important stage of my journey. Having with the greatest difficulty and danger crossed the wide open country of the other more easterly tribes of the Tawárek on the setting out of our expedition, and heartily glad to have got rid of them, I here once more entered their territory, and delivered myself up into their hands without enjoying the protection of a single powerful chief, and guided solely by the advice of that crafty man whose only purpose was to get from

me as much as possible. The encampment consisted of leather tents of larger or smaller size, but it evidently belonged to a chief without great power, as seemed to be apparent from the total absence of camels and horses. However, I immediately conceived a favorable impression of the muscular strength and dexterity of these people; for when we approached the tent of the chief, who was sitting inside upon his couch of reeds, he with a single jerk jumped out and suddenly stood upright before us. Of course the tent was open in front, but, nevertheless, it appeared to me a great gymnastic feat, especially taking into account the lowness of the entrance, as in jumping out he had to stoop at the same time. Without delay a smaller tent was placed at our disposal, and we made ourselves comfortable.

The tents, "éhe" (pl. éhénnan), consist of a large round piece of leather formed of a great number of smaller sheepskins cut in quadrangular pieces and sewed together, while the borders of the whole are left purposely very irregular, in order to pass the stalks which describe the outward circle of the tent through the projecting corners. These skins are spanned over three pairs of poles, the middle pair of considerable elevation, the remaining two not so high, and one of them, on the right of the entrance, being forked, as represented in the following wood-cut, although, as far as I have become aware, the middle poles are not always the same, in some tents both joining at the top, in others seeming to stand apart. The whole character of these tents will be still better understood from the plate representing the Tawárek encampment at Amalélle in a subsequent part of this volume.

In such a tent there are generally two couches, or divans, called "teshégit," made of a fine species of reed, and raised about a foot from the ground; for these people generally choose the most swampy places for their encampments, and after a thunder-storm are sometimes to be found in the midst of a lake. They are also not wanting in comforts; and on every couch there is a leather pillow, "adafór," which certainly seems very essential, as it would be most uncomfortable to rest

Tent of the Tawárek, the robbers of the Desert.

the elbow on the uneven and hard surface of these reed couches. Almost all the furniture of these simple people, besides a few wooden bowls for eating and drinking, consists of leather bags of excellent workmanship and sometimes very tastefully ornamented. In these they stow away their clothes as well as their provisions, and during the night they surround the whole tent with very neat mattings of a fine species of reed, so that a tent of this description forms quite a comfortable dwelling.

Although our host was evidently not one of the first-rate chiefs, he, as well as his kinsfolk and friends who came to visit us, had a very noble and prepossessing appearance, being rather broad-shouldered, stout, and well knit, with a pleasing expression of countenance and a fair skin, though there were a few among them who, with their coarse features and their dark skin, bore testimony to the deterioration of the Berber blood. We had scarcely made ourselves comfortable, when we were treated with large quantities of fresh and sour milk, while a fat sheep was slaughtered and prepared for our supper,

but without any additional food, these people living almost entirely on meat and milk.

Of course I had to make a handsome present to my new friends, consisting of a fine black tobe, a túrkedí, and a black harám; but I doubt very much whether my friend El Waláti gave them these articles as a present from me, or whether he sold them as his own. However, be this as it may, I wanted not only their protection, but their assistance, too, as my camels were so weakened by the continual humidity to which they were exposed, that they were not fit to carry my luggage any farther. But, besides, as we had to pass the seats of these lawless tribes, we had to grope our way as well as possible from one encampment to the other, so that we wanted guides; and it was therefore arranged that, hiring a couple of pack-oxen at this place, we should join this tribe the following morning, when they would take us on our way to the chief, Somki.

On returning from this encampment to Bóne, being misled by a man who professed to know the district, which for the most part consists of swampy ground, we fell into a dangerous bog, and made our way with great difficulty. We were also visited by a very heavy thunder-storm in the evening, which swamped the whole country, killed one of my camels, and rendered our night's rest very uncomfortable. In consequence of this violent rain our road the next day, on our way to the Tawárek, was very bad, and we had great difficulty in avoiding the swamps; but I was rewarded by the picturesque aspect of the scenery, a rich cascade rushing down over the steep cliffs of the mountain from a height of about two hundred feet, and forming at the bottom a powerful torrent, which swept along through a fine border of vegetation in the direction of Bóne. The poor independent inhabitants of that mountain had left their stone cottages and caves on the slope of the steep cliffs, and were busy, after the fertilizing rain, with the labors of the field in their limited grounds, clearing them of the weeds. The crops promised well, and had a healthy appearance. When we disturbed these poor people in their labors, they retired behind the safeguard of their Cyclopean rocks, and stared at

us with great curiosity, the unusual appearance of our whole train causing them a great deal of dismay; and it was in vain that we endeavored by our gestures to persuade them to continue their labors, as they did not understand us, while we were greatly pleased to observe that, although pagans, they were decently clad with neat aprons of cotton round their loins.

Having at length joined our friends of yesterday, we pitched our linen tents, which greatly attracted their attention, at some distance from their leather dwellings, and were soon beset by numbers of the fair sex, some of whom were distinguished by their plumpness, especially by that peculiar feature called "tebúllodén," which I mentioned on a former occasion; but I was forced to frighten these fair visitors away, as, in consequence of the last day's thunder-storm, I felt very unwell, and was obliged to have recourse to an emetic. As for the men, their dress consisted throughout of a short shirt with short open sleeves, made of a coarse kind of broad cotton strips; only a few young lads, sons of the chief, wearing also here in the encampment blue-dyed shirts, with a patch of red cloth to adorn the large breast-pocket. Their head-dress was likewise very poor, consisting not of a whole shawl, harám or tesílgemist, but of single cotton strips of various colors, blue, red, white, and of the mixed kind called "shaharíye," sewed together, only a few of them being able to add a strip of red cloth: for, altogether, these Tawárek are very fond of a variety of colors, a feature already observed by that most excellent geographer El Bekrí, and never leave the manufactured shirts of Núpe and Háusa as they receive them, with the exception of a few of the greatest chiefs, who pride themselves in possessing a whole shirt of that kind. Owing to the swampy character of the neighborhood, which produced countless hosts of musquitoes, and to the number of hyenas, which frightened the cattle repeatedly, I passed a restless and sleepless night.

*Friday, August 12th.* I was now in the hands of the Tawárek, and my crafty Arab companion was enabled to take full advantage of my dangerous situation. For, on the one hand, it had become necessary to represent me to these simple people

as a great sherif, and thus to excite their hospitable feelings, while at the same time he instigated me to reward their treatment in a generous manner, but nevertheless sold my presents to them as his own property. It required a great deal of patience and forbearance on my part to bear up against the numerous delays in this part of our journey, and to endure the many tricks played upon me by the treachery of my companion, in order to prevent at least his proceeding to open violence. In this encampment he bartered the horse which I had bought for him at Libtáko, for seven fat and powerful bulls, which, in Timbúktu, probably might fetch from 8000 to 10,000 shells each. This business being at length settled, and the whole encampment breaking up, we proceeded onward. The men were mostly mounted on horses of a small unsightly breed, but well adapted to bear fatigue, while the women were sitting astride on their household furniture, which was packed on oxen and asses.

Proceeding thus slowly onward, our friends encamped about a mile from their former resting-place, or "ámazágh," close beyond an extensive meadow-water which caused the young herbage to spring up all around, and full of holes, thus creating frequent delay.

Continuing, then, our journey alone, and ascending higher ground, where a little cultivation was being carried on by the slaves of the nomadic tribe which at present have taken possession of these grounds, and passing another encampment, we reached, after a march of about eight miles, the camp where we were to make another halt. It was situated in an open tract of ground called Imeggélelé, adorned only by a few stunted talha-trees, while at some distance to the south a flat vale spread out, clothed with a greater profusion of vegetation, and affording rich pasture to numerous flocks of sheep and goats. The whole tract forms a sort of irregular valley, bordered toward the north by a hilly chain of slight elevation, and toward the west by a cluster of flat-topped cones.

The camp was governed by three different chiefs, called Sítina, Jáwi, and Feréféré, the latter being a man of a very

powerful frame. Several small presents were necessary to satisfy them all. Besides, as the two pack-oxen which I had hired the day before were to return from this place, I had to buy here two animals myself; and I had great difficulty, in the course of the following day, in concluding a bargain: but I at length succeeded in buying one bull, with a tobe worth here 6000 shells, and a túrkedí of inferior quality worth 2000; and a second one, with three háf worth 4000, together with a túrkedí worth 3500. This was not, however, their real value, but the price fixed by El Waláti, who had himself a profit of at least fifty per cent. He also was the sole cause of my being detained here so long, as he wanted to sell the mare which he had brought with him from Bulánga; for horses constitute the chief article of trade with these people, and small Fúlbe traders, or rather Jawámbe or Zoghorán, visit them continually, bringing horses from Sofára and the country of Búrgu, where the best animal fetches not more than about 30,000 shells, and bartering them with these people for cattle, and the first evening of our arrival a numerous troop of these native traders arrived. It was here that I observed, for the first time, some of the Tawárek clad entirely in shirts made of leather, which they are skilful in preparing.

*Sunday, August 14th.* The bargaining being at length concluded, we got ourselves in readiness to pursue our journey, when a violent thunder-storm, gathering from the north, kept us back till nearly noon. We at length set out; but the recently-bought animals were so intractable that we only moved on at a very slow pace. We had first to retrace our steps a little to the eastward, in order to cross the hilly chain which separated us from the sandy downs along the Niger; and had then to descend a very steep sandy slope, which brought us into an irregular valley, with the mountains of Dalla forming a conspicuous object toward the west. Having then turned round a mountain spur, which stretched out into the plain on our right, we reached the encampment of Bélé, a powerful chief of the degraded tribe of the Haw-n-ádak. His exterior had nothing of that noble appearance which so eminently dis-

tinguishes the higher class of these wild tribes, as he was of unwieldy corpulency, and of a rather short figure, resembling the famous South-African chief, Nangóro, visited by Messrs. Galton and Andersson. He received us, however, very hospitably, and proved to be rather an intelligent man; but, fortunately, he had not sufficient cleverness to discover that I was a Christian, although, from the very first moment when he beheld my luggage, he arrived at the firm conclusion that I was not what my companions represented me to be, namely, a sherif from the far east; but he had made up his mind, on account of the little knowledge which I possessed of his language, and which I had not quite kept back before him, that I was a merchant, either from Ghadámes or Morocco, and it was quite amusing to me to hear him argue this point, while he affirmed with the greatest obstinacy, and with an oath, that I was a Shillúh — a Berber from the north, and wanted to represent myself as a sherif, in order to pass through his tribe with less trouble and expense. He, as well as his people, became, by degrees, rather troublesome; but they treated us well, sending us two prepared sheep, and large dishes of rice boiled in an abundance of butter, but without salt. The chief himself is said to consume every day a sheep, and the supply of milk from seven cows, in this respect reminding us of the Emperor Vitellius.

*August* 16*th*. At length we were again on the road; but our march, through a rather level tract of country, was only of short duration, and after a little more than six miles, having crossed a basin where a large sheet of water had collected, we again took up our quarters in another encampment the chief of which was stated to possess authority, so that I had once more to give presents to the value of nearly 10,000 shells, besides a túrkedí and "háf" to be given to the man belonging to Bélé, who had served us as a guide. I had likewise to send a present to a Tárki chief at some distance, in order to take every precaution recommended to me by my companion to insure my safety, although I felt certain that he himself applied the greater portion to his own use. It was thus that

my supplies rapidly disappeared, and I had a fair prospect, if this state of things should continue for any length of time, of arriving in Timbúktu greatly lightened. We were, however, hospitably treated by our hosts, and were even regaled with the uncommon luxury of a large dish of "megáta," a sort of maccaroni, prepared from wheat with a rich seasoning of butter, and famous since the time of El Bekrí. As a proof that we were approaching Timbúktu, I may mention that the people of this encampment were extremely anxious to get a sip of tea, which they called the water of Simsim, from the celebrated well of that name in Mekka. Another of my camels being knocked up, I here exchanged it for four bulls, one of which was fit for carrying burdens, being equal in value to two or three of the others; but I had afterward a keen dispute on account of this bargain, the camel having subsequently died.

*August* 17*th*. Having then passed a small tract of cultivated ground and emerged from the undulating country, we obtained a sight of the town of Bámbara, situated a little in front of a chain of hills. In an hour more we reached the place, and at the instigation of our Arab companion fired a salute with our pistols, whereupon the principal individuals made their appearance, and we obtained quarters without further delay.

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## CHAPTER XXII.

Residence in Bámbara — Dr. Barth taken for a rain-maker — Diplomacy of the Arab, Waláti — Visit to Somki — Dr. Barth again passes for a successful rain-maker — Voyage on the Niger to Kabara,

I HAD to stay in Bámbara several days, not all for my own comfort, as I continually ran the risk of being recognised and identified, having been known as a Christian at the short distance of a few days' journey from here. Nothing but the

scanty intercourse which is kept up in this region made such a sudden change of character possible, for as yet I had nobody to protect me. But my friend El Waláti, whose relation with the inhabitants of this place was of a peculiar character, derived the sole benefit from our stay. He had married here, four years previously, a rich wife, and had absconded with all her property: besides having seriously offended the powerful Tárki chief Somki. Having thus made himself so obnoxious to them, he would not have been able to enter the place again, if he had not found an opportunity of enriching himself at my expense and enjoying the protection of my company. However, it was only by degrees that I became acquainted with all these circumstances, while I had to bear silently all the intrigues of this man, my only object being to reach safely in his company the town of Timbúktu; but it was evident enough that he was continually wavering, whether it was not more profitable for him to deliver me into the hands of the Fúlbe, as he knew well that in the town of Dár-e'-Salám, which was only thirty miles distant, there was a powerful governor, under the ruler of Másina, and himself a son of Mohammed Lebbo, who, at the first intelligence of my real character, would have cut short all my proceedings, and, in the most favorable case, would have sent me direct to his liege lord and nephew in Hamda-Alláhi.

I had to make here some considerable presents to a number of people. There was first our host Jóbbo, who had given us quarters, and who treated us very hospitably; then, the son of the chief or emír, who was absent in Hamda-Alláhi; next, three kinsmen of the latter, who were represented to me as dhálemín; and lastly, three Arabs from Timbúktu, who were staying here at the time, and whose friendly disposition I had to secure for some reason or other. Besides these presents to the inhabitants of the place, I had also to reward the various people who had accompanied us from the Tawárek encampments in order to show us the road, or rather to drive the sheep and cattle belonging to El Waláti. But, in return for

all these presents, I was at least treated hospitably, and, for these countries, even sumptuously.

While we were staying in this place I received a visit from two Tawárek chiefs, who, owing to our slow progress, had heard of me, and came in order to obtain from me my blessing, but more particularly some presents. The chief of them was a very respectable-looking man of the name of Mohammed, or Hemáhemé, with large open features, such as are never seen among the Kélowí, and of a tall stately figure. They behaved very friendly toward me, and one of them even embraced me very cordially; but the scale of their religious erudition was not very considerable, and I was greatly amused when El Waláti, in order to get back from them his tobacco-pouch, which they had secretly abstracted from him, suddenly seized one of my books, which happened to be "Lander's Journey," and, on threatening them with it as if it were the Kurán, the pouch was restored without delay.

I had been questioned repeatedly on my journey respecting the Méhedí, who was expected soon to appear; but these people here were uncommonly anxious to know something concerning him, and could scarcely be prevented from identifying me with this expected prophet, who was to come from the East.

They were scarcely gone when a messenger arrived from the great chief Somki, whose name had already filled my imagination for so long a time; and, at El Waláti's most urgent request, who did not fail to enhance the importance of this man as much as he was able, I prepared a considerable present, worth altogether 33,000 shells, which my friend was to take to him on the following day.

Now, it would not have been at all necessary to have come into any contact with this chief, as the direct road to Timbúktu led straight from here, without touching at Sarayámo, near which place Somki had formed his encampment; but my friend represented the direct road from here to Timbúktu as leading along the encampments of several powerful chiefs, whom it would be more prudent to avoid; and perhaps he

was right, not so much from the reason stated as on account of the water-communication between Sarayámo and Timbúktu offering a great advantage. In conformity with these circumstances, on the third day of our stay here, El Waláti at length set out for the encampment of Somki, in order to obtain his protection to enable me to pass safely through his territory; and I sent along with him my faithful servant, Mohammed el Gatróni, whom I had just cured of a severe attack of dysentery, although I could not expect that he would be able to control the proceedings of the crafty Arab, as he did not understand the language of the Tawárek. They did not return until the third day, and gave me in the mean time full leisure to study a little more accurately the relations of this place.

On my first arrival at the town of Bámbara, I had not been at all aware that it formed a most important point of my journey, it being for me, as proceeding from the southeast, what that celebrated creek three days west from Timbúktu was to the traveller from the north during the Middle Ages, and which on this account has received the name of "Rás el má." The town of Bámbara is situated on a branch or rather a dead backwater of the river, forming a very shallow bottom of considerable breadth, but a very irregular border, and containing at that time but little water, so that the communication with the river was interrupted.

I was assured by the inhabitants that only one plentiful shower had as yet fallen. This was the reason that, instigated by the absurd rumor which had preceded me that my favor with the Almighty was so great that it had some influence upon the fall of rain, all the inhabitants, although Mohammedans, assembled on the second day of El Waláti's absence, and, headed by the emír, came to me in procession, and solicited my interference in their behalf for a good shower of rain. I succeeded this time in eluding their solicitations for a direct prayer, satisfying them by expressing my fervent hope that the Almighty would have mercy upon them. But I was so favored,

that there was really a moderate shower in the evening, which did a great deal of good to the ground.

At length, on the evening of the third day after their setting out, my two companions, whom I had sent to Somki, returned, and El Waláti would fain have made me believe that that chief had at first most obstinately refused to receive the presents, and had peremptorily demanded that I should make him, in addition, a present of one of the horses; but the fact was, that he had persisted in representing that those presents did not come from me, but had employed them to make his own peace with that powerful chief, and to conclude some bargain with him. After all this, he had the insolence to propose that I also should go to that chief, in order to surrender to him some more of my property as his own; but I could not prevent it, and my only object was necessarily to get over my difficult situation as well as possible.

*Thursday, August 25th.* Having, after the return of my friend from his important embassy, still been obliged to stay another day in this miserable place, and having had the misfortune to lose my best ox of burden, which El Waláti had sold to the Tawárek who came along with us, pretending that it had been stolen, I at length set out on my journey to Sarayámo.

[On the 26th, Dr. Barth visits Somki and receives a new proof of his Arab companion's diplomatic talents.]

In open swampy meadow-grounds, girt by a dense belt of gerredh, where no Arab would think of pitching his tent, was the encampment of the chief Somki, with his family and his followers (the tents of the kind I have described being just pitched), and his numerous herds of cattle grazing right and left, besides about twenty camels. We found the chief reclining on his "teshégit" or divan of reeds, and as soon as he beheld us he rose and saluted El Waláti and me. He was a man of middle stature and of tolerably stout proportions, his white beard, which looked forth from under the lithám, giving him a highly respectable appearance. He, however, did not show us any signs of hospitality, which vexed me the more, as, besides the considerable presents which I had sent to him a few days

before, I had now again to make him another one, consisting of two túrkedís and a háf; but I soon found that he was not aware of the former presents having been sent by me.

*Saturday, August 27th.* We set out on our last day's journey by land, in order to reach the place where we were to embark on the river. Having emerged from the low swampy ground, we entered again sandy downs, principally clothed with háskanít, damankádda, and bú-rékkeba or *Panicum colonum*, and, having left on one side a smaller channel, we reached the branch of Fatta, which extends almost as far as Sarayámo, running parallel to several other creeks, called after the villages Kásba, Haibóngo, and Benesénga, which intersect the district named Bóddu.

The water at first formed a narrow irregular channel of about 200 yards wide, very much resembling an artificial canal, as is the case with a great many of these backwaters, but gradually it began to widen, affording excellent soil for the cultivation of rice. Between this channel and the river there are several other branches, which appear to join the creek which I navigated from Sarayámo. Altogether, in this level part of the Niger, the river appears to spread out in a labyrinth of channels and water-courses. As for the rice which was grown here exclusively, it appeared to have been just sown with the assistance of the dew, which suffices for its growth till the river rises and spreads its inundation.

Having then left this water-course at some distance on our right, we reached three miles farther on the town of Sarayámo, the chief place in the province of Kíso. A great many people being here collected at the news of our arrival, we fired a salute with our pistols, and after a little search, owing to the very low entrances of most of the huts which would not admit my luggage, obtained tolerable quarters.

I had scarcely made myself comfortable, when I received a great number of visits; and it was not long before Mohammed Bonyámi arrived, mounted on a white mare. As El Waláti had persuaded me to take only one horse to Timbúktu, I sent two of my animals with this man to remain with him until my

leaving that place, while I also intrusted to his care my five camels, to be taken to a brother of his.

While I was conversing with these people, my friend the Háj Búda arrived also, with whom I continued to pass for a Syrian sherif, although he thought it strange that I would not say my prayers with him in the court-yard.

*Sunday, August 28th.* Having enjoyed a good night's rest, tolerably free from musquitoes, as I had shut my hut at an early hour, I took a walk down to the river, the morning being, as usual, cool and fresh, and a slight breeze having sprung up. The bank on which the town stands was, at present, from twenty-five to thirty feet above the level of the river; but this elevation is of course greatly diminished by the rising of the inundation, the river reaching generally to the very border of the village. That branch which is not in direct connection with the water of Fatta, along which our last day's march had laid, had no current, and was about 200 yards in breadth. The communication by water along these shallow backwaters of the immense Niger just opening (for in the dry season the connection is interrupted), only one sea-worthy boat was lying here at the time, neither conspicuous for its size, nor for its comfortable arrangement, and with two cabins of matting, one in the prow, and one in the stern, while another boat measuring forty feet by eight, was just repairing. All the craft are built of planks, sewed or tied together in a very bungling manner.

I learned, on this occasion, that it is only at this season of the year that people go from here to Timbúktu, which lies almost exactly north from this place, by an eastern winding; while later in the season they follow a westerly branch. A labyrinth of creeks, backwaters, and channels is in this manner spread over the whole of this country, of which people had no previous idea.

I had scarcely returned to my quarters when the governor, or emír, of the place came to pay me a visit. This man, whose name was 'Othmán, was a cheerful kind of person. He stands in direct subjection to the chief of Hamda-Alláhi, without being dependent upon any other governor; and his province

comprises some other places in the neighborhood, such as Fatta, Horeséna, and Kabéka. Having made strict inquiries with regard to the present state of affairs in Stambúl, and having asked the news respecting the countries of the East in general, he left me, but returned again in the course of the afternoon, accompanied by the chief persons in the town, in order to solicit my aid in procuring rain. After a long conversation about the rainy season, the quantity of rain which falls in different countries, and the tropical regions especially, I felt myself obliged to say before them the "fat-há," or opening prayer of the Kurán; and, to their great amusement and delight, concluded the Arabic prayer with a form in their own language — "Alla hokki ndíam" — which, although meaning originally, "God may give water," has become quite a complimentary phrase, so that the original meaning has been almost lost, few people only being conscious of it. It so happened that the ensuing night a heavy thunder-storm gathered from the east, bringing a considerable quantity of rain, which even found its way into my badly-thatched hut. This apparent efficacy of my prayer induced the inhabitants to return the following day, to solicit from me a repetition of my performance; but I succeeded in evading their request by exhorting them to patience. But, on the other hand, I was obliged, in addition to a strong dose of emetic, to give the governor my blessing, as he was going to the capital, and was rather afraid of his liege lord the young prince A'hmedu, while at the same time his overbearing neighbors, the Tawárek, inspired him with a great deal of fear. In the sequel, he was very well received in the capital, and therefore could not complain of the inefficacy of my inspiration; but, nevertheless, not having had the slightest suspicion that I was not what I represented myself to be, he was much shocked when he afterward learned that I was a Christian, to the great amusement of the Sheikh el Bakáy, who wrote to him repeatedly to the effect that he ought to be well pleased that so wicked a person as a Christian had procured him not only rain, but even a good reception from his superior.

Having succeeded in hiring the boat which had come from Timbúktu for the exclusive use of my own party, for 10,000 shells, I prepared my luggage, which, although now greatly reduced from the respectable bulk which it presented when setting out from Kátsena, was still sufficient to inspire me with the hope that I might succeed in securing the friendship of the more influential chiefs of these regions, and in the evening of the last day of August I went on board of my small craft, and passed there a very comfortable night. The river, during the time of my residence in the place, had risen considerably, and soon promised to open the communication by the western branch.

*Thursday, September 1st.* After a good deal of delay, we at length began our voyage about a quarter before eight in the morning; and I felt my spirits greatly cheered when I found myself floating on this river, or backwater, which was to carry me all the way to the harbor of Timbúktu.

[This voyage to Kabara, the harbor of Timbúktu, was not attended with any remarkable incident. It lasted till the 5th of September.]

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## CHAPTER XXIII.

Arrival at Kábara—Description of the place—Visit of the Sheikh's brother—Entrance into Timbúktu—Dr. Barth shut up in his house—Exactions of the Sheikh's brother—Threatened attack on Dr. Barth's house—He arms his household, and his enemies desist from the attack—Dispute on Religion—Letter from the Sheikh El Bakáy—Grand Festival of the Mohammedans—Sickness of Dr. Barth.

*September 5th*, 1853. The day broke which, after so many months' exertion, was to carry me to the harbor of Timbúktu. We started at a tolerably early hour, crossing the broad sheet of the river, first in a northeasterly, then in an almost northerly direction, till finding ourselves opposite the small hamlet Tásakal, mentioned by Caillié, we began to keep

along the windings of the northern bank, which, from its low character, presented a very varying appearance, while a creek, separating from the trunk, entered the low ground. The river, a month or two later in the season, inundates the whole country to a great distance, but the magnificent stream, with the exception of a few fishing-boats, now seemed almost tenantless, the only objects which in the present reduced state of the country animated the scenery, being a number of large boats lying at anchor in front of us near the shore of the village Koróme. But the whole character of the river was of the highest interest to me, as it disclosed some new features for which I had not been prepared; for, while the water on which Koróme was situated formed only by far the smaller branch, the chief river, about three quarters of a mile in breadth, took its direction to the southeast, separated from the former by a group of islands called Day, at the headland of which lies the islet of Tárashám.

It was with an anxious feeling that I bade farewell to that noble river as it turned away from us, not being sure whether it would fall to my lot to explore its farther course, although it was my firm intention at the time to accomplish this task if possible. Thus we entered the branch of Koróme, keeping along the grass which here grows in the river to a great extent, till we reached the village, consisting of nothing but temporary huts of reed, which, in the course of a few weeks, with the rising of the waters, were to be removed farther inland. Notwithstanding its frail character, this poor little village was interesting on account of its wharves, where a number of boats were repairing. The master of our own craft residing here (for all the boatmen on this river are serfs, or nearly in that condition), we were obliged to halt almost an hour and a half; but in order not to excite the curiosity of the people, I thought it prudent to remain in my boat. But even there I was incommoded with a great number of visitors, who were very anxious to know exactly what sort of person I was. It was here that we heard the unsatisfactory news that El Bakáy, whose name as a just and intelligent chief alone had given me

confidence to undertake this journey, was absent at the time in Gúndam, whither he had gone in order to settle a dispute which had arisen between the Tawárek and the Berabísh; and as from the very beginning, when I was planning my journey to Timbúktu, I had based the whole confidence of my success upon the noble and trustworthy character which was attributed to the Sheikh el Bakáy by my informants, this piece of information produced a serious effect upon me.

At length we set out again on our interesting voyage, following first a southeasterly, then a northeasterly direction along this branch, which, for the first three miles and a half, retained some importance, being here about 200 yards wide, when the channel divided a second time, the more considerable branch turning off toward Yélluwa and Zegália, and other smaller hamlets situated on the islands of Day, while the water-course which we followed dwindled away to a mere narrow meadow-water, bearing the appearance of an artificial ditch or canal. The navigation of this water became so difficult, that all my people were obliged to leave the boat, which with great difficulty was dragged on by the boatmen, who themselves entered the water and lifted and pushed it along with their hands. But before we reached Kábara, which is situated on the slope of a sandy eminence, the narrow and shallow channel widened to a tolerably large basin of circular shape; and here, in front of the town, seven good-sized boats were lying, giving to the whole place some little life. Later in the season, when the channel becomes navigable for larger boats, the intercourse becomes much more animated. During the palmy days of the Songhay empire, an uninterrupted intercourse took place between Gágho and Timbúktu on the one side, and between Timbúktu and Jenni on the other, and a numerous fleet was always lying here under the orders of an admiral of great power and influence. The basin has such a regular shape that it looks as if it were artificial; but, nevertheless, it may be the work of nature, as Kábara from the most ancient times has been the harbor of Timbúktu, and at times

seems even to have been of greater importance than the latter place itself.

At length we lay to, and sending two of my people on shore in order to obtain quarters, I followed them as soon as possible, when I was informed that they had procured a comfortable dwelling for me; but the night which I passed here was a very uncomfortable one, on account of the number of mosquitoes which infest the whole place.

Thus broke the 6th of September—a very important day for me, as it was to determine the kind of reception I was to meet with in this quarter. But notwithstanding the uncertainty of my prospects, I felt cheerful and full of confidence; and, as I was now again firmly established on dry soil, I went early in the morning to see my horse, which had successfully crossed all the different branches lying between Kábara and Sarayámo; but I was sorry to find him in a very weak and emaciated condition.

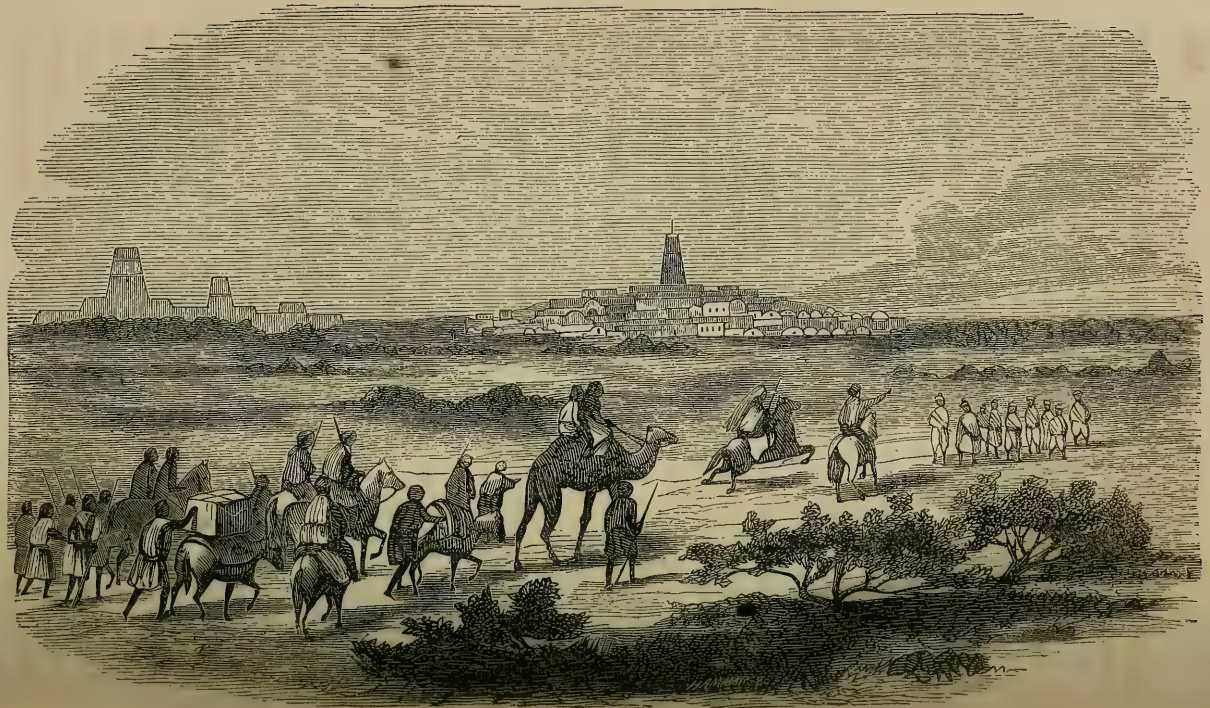
While traversing the village I was surprised at the many clay buildings which are to be seen here, amounting to between 150 and 200; however, these are not so much the dwellings of the inhabitants of Kábara themselves, but serve rather as magazines for storing up the merchandise belonging to the people of, and the foreign merchants residing in, Timbúktu and Sansándi. There are two small market-places, one containing about twelve stalls or sheds, where all sorts of articles are sold, the other being used exclusively for meat. Although it was still early in the day, women were already busy boiling rice, which is sold in small portions, or made up into thin cakes boiled with bulánga and sold for five shells each. Almost all the inhabitants, who may muster about 2000, are Songhay; but the authorities belong to the tribe of the Fúlbe, whose principal wealth consists of cattle, the only exception being the office of the inspector of the harbor—a very ancient office, repeatedly mentioned by A'hmed Bábá—which at present is in the hands of Múláy Kásim, a sheríf whose family is said to have emigrated originally from the Gharb or Morocco, but who has become so Sudánized that he has forgotten all his former

knowledge of Arabic. On account of the cattle being driven to a great distance, I found that milk was very scarce and dear. The inhabitants cultivate a little rice, but have some cotton, besides bámia, or *Corchorus olitorius*, and melons of various descriptions.

Having returned to my quarters from my walk through the town, I had to distribute several presents to some people whom El Waláti chose to represent as his brothers and friends. Having then given to himself a new, glittering, black tobe of Núpe manufacture, a new "háf," and the white bernús which I wore myself, I at length prevailed upon him to set out for the town, in order to obtain protection for me; for as yet I was an outlaw in the country, and any ruffian who suspected my character might have slain me, without scarcely anybody caring anything about it; and circumstances seemed to assume a very unfavorable aspect: for there was a great movement among the Tawárek in the neighborhood, when it almost seemed as if some news of my real character had transpired.

My messengers not returning at the appointed time from their errand to the town, I had at length retired to rest in the evening, when shortly before midnight they arrived, together with Sídi A'lawáte, the Sheikh El Bakáy's brother, and several of his followers, who took up their quarters on the terrace of my house in order to be out of the reach of the musquitoes; and after they had been regaled with a good supper, which had been provided beforehand by some of the townspeople, I went to pay my respects to them.

It was an important interview; for, although this was not the person for whom my visit was specially intended, and whose favorable or unfavorable disposition would influence the whole success of my arduous undertaking, yet for the present I was entirely in his hands, and all depended upon the manner in which he received me. Now my two messengers had only disclosed to himself personally that I was a Christian, while at the same time they had laid great stress upon the circumstance that, although a Christian, I was under the special protection of the Sultan of Stambúl; and Sídi A'lawáte inquired therefore of me, with great earnestness and anxiety, as to the pecu-



*Arrival of Dr. Barth at Timbúktu.*

liar manner in which I enjoyed the protection of that great Mohammedan sovereign.

Now, it was most unfortunate for me that I had no direct letter from that quarter. Even the firmán, with which we had been provided by the Bashá of Tripoli, had been delivered to the governor for whom it was destined, so that at the time I had nothing with me to show but a firmán, which I had used on my journey in Egypt, and which of course had no especial relation to the case in question. The want of such a general letter of protection from the Sultan of Constantinople, which I had solicited with so much anxiety to be sent after me, was in the sequel the chief cause of my difficulty and dangerous position in Timbúktu; for, furnished with such a letter, it would have been easy to have imposed silence upon my adversaries and enemies there, and especially upon the merchants from Morocco, who were instigated by the most selfish jealousy to raise all sorts of intrigues against me.

Having heard my address with attention, although I was not able to establish every point so clearly as I could have wished, the sheikh's brother promised me protection, and desired me to be without any apprehension with regard to my safety; and thus terminated my first interview with this man, who, on the whole, inspired me with a certain degree of confidence, although I was glad to think that he was not the man upon whom I had to rely for my safety. Having then had a farther chat with his telamíd, or pupils, with whom I passed for a Mohammedan, I took leave of the party, and retired to rest in the close apartments of the lower story of the house.

*Wednesday, September 7th.* After a rather restless night, the day broke when I was at length to enter Timbúktu; but we had a good deal of trouble in performing this last short stage of our journey, deprived as we were of beasts of burden; for the two camels which the people had brought from the town in order to carry my boxes, proved much to weak, and it was only after a long delay that we were able to procure eleven donkeys for the transport of all my luggage. Meanwhile, the rumor of a traveller of importance having arrived,

had spread far and wide, and several inhabitants of the place sent a breakfast both for myself and my protector. Just at the moment when we were at length mounting our horses, it seemed as if the Tárki chief Knéha was to cause me some more trouble, for in the morning he had sent me a vessel of butter, in order thus to acquire a fair claim upon my generosity; and, coming now for his reward, he was greatly disappointed when he heard the present had fallen into the hands of other people.

It was ten o'clock when our cavalcade at length put itself in motion, ascending the sand-hills which rise close behind the village of Kábara, and which, to my great regret, had prevented my obtaining a view of the town from the top of our terrace. The contrast of this desolate scenery with the character of the fertile banks of the river which I had just left behind was remarkable. The whole tract bore decidedly the character of a desert, although the path was thickly lined on both sides with thorny bushes and stunted trees, which were being cleared away in some places, in order to render the path less obstructed and more safe, as the Tawárek never fail to infest it, and at present were particularly dreaded on account of their having killed a few days previously three petty Tawáti traders on their way to A'rawán. It is from the unsafe character of this short road between the harbor and the town, that the spot, about half way between Kábara and Timbúktu, bears the remarkable name of "Ur-immándes," "he does not hear," meaning the place where the cry of the unfortunate victim is not heard from either side.

Having traversed two sunken spots designated by especial names, where, in certain years, when the river rises to an unusual height, as happened in the course of the same winter, the water of the inundation enters, and occasionally forms even a navigable channel; and leaving on one side the talha-tree of the Welí Sálah, covered with innumerable rags of the superstitious natives, who expect to be generously rewarded by their saint with a new shirt, we approached the town; but its dark masses of clay not being illuminated by bright sunshine, for the sky was thickly overcast, and the atmosphere filled with

sand, were scarcely to be distinguished from the sand rubbish heaped all round; and there was no opportunity for looking attentively about, as a body of people were coming toward us, in order to pay their compliments to the stranger, and bid him welcome. This was a very important moment, as, if they had felt the slightest suspicion with regard to my character, they might easily have prevented my entering the town at all, and thus even endangered my life.

I therefore took the hint of A'lawáte, who recommended me to make a start in advance, in order to anticipate the salute of these people who had come to meet us; and, putting my horse to a gallop, and gun in hand, I galloped up to meet them, when I was received with many saláms. But a circumstance occurred which might have proved fatal, not only to my enterprise, but even to my own personal safety, as there was a man among the group who addressed me in Turkish, which I had almost entirely forgotten; so that I could with difficulty make a suitable answer to his compliment; but, avoiding farther indiscreet questions, I pushed on, in order to get under safe cover.

Having then traversed the rubbish which has accumulated round the ruined clay wall of the town, and left on one side a row of dirty reed huts which encompass the whole of the place, we entered the narrow streets and lanes, or as the people of Timbúktu say, the tijeráten, which scarcely allowed two horses to proceed abreast. But I was not a little surprised at the populous and wealthy character which this quarter of the town, the Sáne-Gúngu, exhibited, many of the houses rising to the height of two stories, and in their façade evincing even an attempt at architectural adornment. Thus, taking a more westerly turn, and followed by a numerous troop of people, we passed the house of the Sheikh El Bakáy, where I was desired to fire a pistol; but as I had all my arms loaded with ball, I prudently declined to do so, and left it to one of my people to do honor to the house of our host. We thus reached the house on the other side of the street, which was destined for my residence, and I was glad when I found myself safely in my new quarters.

It had been arranged that, during the absence of the Sheikh el Bakáy, whose special guest I professed to be, my house should be locked up and no one allowed to pay me a visit. However, while my luggage was being got in, numbers of people gained access to the house, and came to pay me their compliments, and while they scrutinized my luggage, part of which had rather a foreign appearance, some of them entertained a doubt as to my nationality. But of course it could never have been my intention to have impressed these people with the belief of my being a Mohammedan; for having been known as a Christian all along my road as far as Libtáko, with which province the Arabs of A'zawád keep up a continual intercourse, although there the people would scarcely believe that I was a European, the news of my real character could not fail soon to transpire; and it was rather a fortunate circumstance that, notwithstanding our extremely slow progress and our roundabout direction, the news had not anticipated us. I had been obliged to adopt the character of a Mohammedan in order to traverse with some degree of safety the country of the Tawárek, and to enter the town of Timbúktu, which was in the hands of the fanatical Fúlbe of Hamda-Alláhi, while I had not yet obtained the protection of the chief whose name and character alone had inspired me with sufficient confidence to enter upon this enterprise.

Thus I had now reached the object of my arduous undertaking; but it was apparent from the very first that I should not enjoy the triumph of having overcome the difficulties of the journey in quiet and repose. The continuous excitement of the protracted struggle, and the uncertainty whether I should succeed in my undertaking, had sustained my weakened frame till I actually reached this city; but as soon as I was there, and almost at the very moment when I entered my house, I was seized with a severe attack of fever. Yet never were presence of mind and bodily energy more required; for the first night which I passed in Timbúktu was disturbed by feelings of alarm and serious anxiety.

On the morning of the 8th of September, the first news I

heard was that Hammádi, the rival and enemy of El Bakáy, had informed the Fúlbe or Fullán that a Christian had entered the town, and that, in consequence, they had come to the determination of killing him. However, these rumors did not cause me any great alarm, as I entertained the false hope that I might rely on the person who, for the time, had undertaken to protect me; but my feeling of security was soon destroyed, this very man turning out my greatest tormentor. I had destined for him a very handsome gift, consisting of a fine cloth bernús, a cloth kaftán, and two tobes, one of silk and the other of indigo-dyed cotton, besides some smaller articles; but he was by no means satisfied with these, and peremptorily raised the present to the following formidable proportions:

| | Shells. |
|---|---|
| Two blue bernúses of the best quality, worth | 100,000 |
| One kaftán | 40,000 |
| Two waistcoats; one red and one blue | 15,000 |
| Two silk tobes | 35,000 |
| Two Núpe tobes | 30,000 |
| A pair of small pistols, with 7 pounds of fine powder | |
| Ten Spanish dollars | |
| Two English razors, and many other articles | |

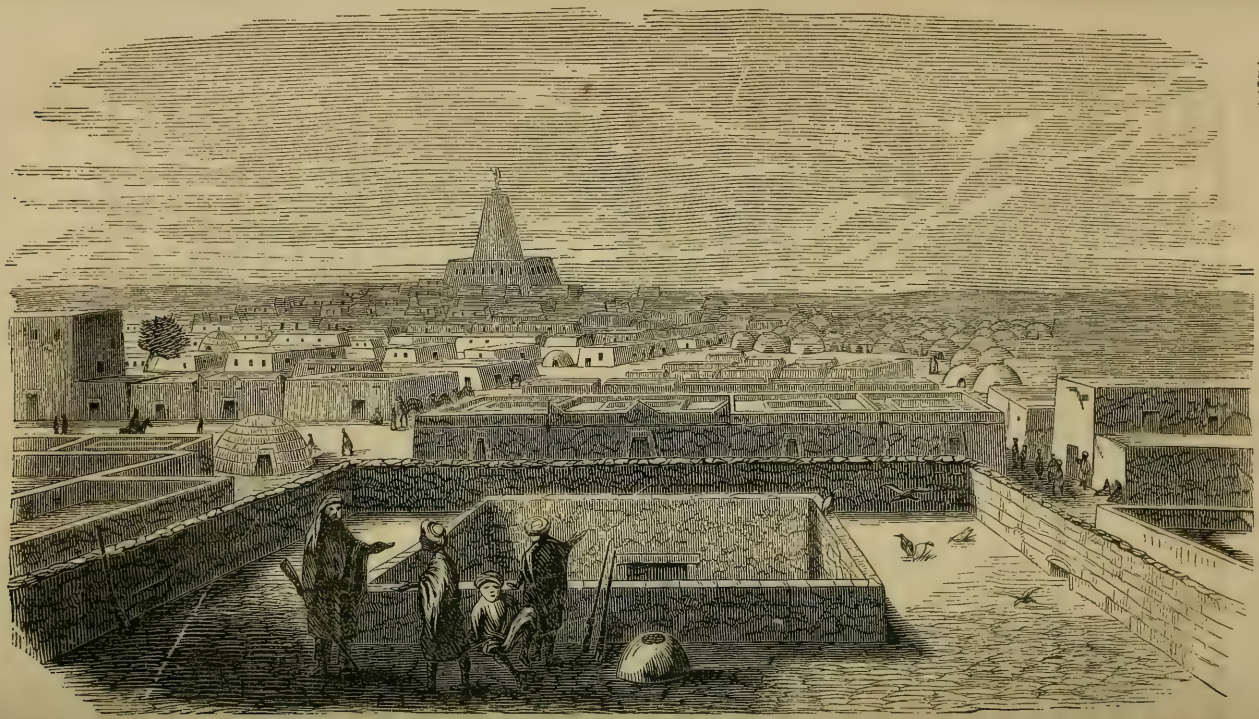
While levying this heavy contribution upon me, in order to take from the affair its vexatious character, my host stated that as their house and their whole establishment were at my disposal, so my property ought to be at theirs. But even this amount of property did not satisfy him, nor were his pretensions limited to this; for the following day he exacted an almost equal amount of considerable presents from me, such as two cloth kaftáns, two silk hamáil or sword-belts, three other silk tobes, one of the species called jellábi, one of that called harír, and the third of the kind called filfil, one Núpe tobe, three túrkedís, a small six-barrelled pistol, and many other things. He promised me, however, on his part, that he would not only make presents of several of these articles to the Tawárek chiefs, but that he would also send a handsome gift to the governor of Hamda-Allábi; but this latter condition at

least, although the most important, considering that the town was formally subjected to the supremacy of the ruler of Másina, was never fulfilled; and although I was prepared to sacrifice all I had for the purposes of my journey, yet it was by no means agreeable to give up such a large proportion of my very limited property to a younger brother of the chief under whose protection I was to place myself.

Thus my first day in Timbúktu passed away, preparing me for a great deal of trouble and anxiety which I should have to go through; even those who professed to be my friends treating me with so little consideration.

However, the second day of my residence here was more promising. I received visits from several respectable people, and I began to enter with spirit upon my new situation, and to endeavor by forbearance to accommodate myself to the circumstances under which I was placed. The state of my health also seemed to improve, and I felt a great deal better than on the preceding day.

I was not allowed to stir about, but was confined within the walls of my house. In order to obviate the effect of this want of exercise as much as possible, to enjoy fresh air, and at the same time to become familiar with the principal features of the town, through which I was not allowed to move about at pleasure, I ascended as often as possible the terrace of my house. This afforded an excellent view over the northern quarters of the town. On the north was the massive mosque of Sánkoré, which had just been restored to all its former grandeur through the influence of the Sheikh el Bakáy, and gave the whole place an imposing character. Neither the mosque Sídi Yáhia, nor the "great mosque," or Jíngeré-bér, was seen from this point; but toward the east the view extended over a wide expanse of the desert, and toward the south the elevated mansions of the Ghadámsíye merchants were visible. The style of the buildings was various. I could see clay houses of different characters, some low and unseemly, others rising with a second story in front to greater elevation, and making even an attempt at architectural ornament, the whole being inter-



*View of Timbúktu, from the Terrace of Dr. Barth's House.*

rupted by a few round huts of matting. The sight of this spectacle afforded me sufficient matter of interest, although, the streets being very narrow, only little was to be seen of the intercourse carried on in them, with the exception of the small market in the northern quarter, which was exposed to view on account of its situation on the slope of the sand-hills, which, in course of time, have accumulated round the mosque.

But while the terrace of my house served to make me well acquainted with the character of the town, it had also the disadvantage of exposing me fully to the gaze of the passers-by, so that I could only slowly, and with many interruptions, succeed in making a sketch of the scene thus offered to my view. At the same time I became aware of the great inaccuracy which characterizes the view of the town as given by M. Caillié; still, on the whole, the character of the single dwellings was well represented by that traveller, the only error being that in his representation the whole town seems to consist of scattered and quite isolated houses, while in reality the streets are entirely shut in, as the dwellings form continuous and uninterrupted rows. But it must be taken into account that Timbúktu, at the time of Caillié's visit, was not so well off as it is at present, having been overrun by the Fúlbe the preceding year, and he had no opportunity of making a drawing on the spot.

Although I was greatly delighted at the pleasant place of retreat for refreshing my spirits and invigorating my body by a little exercise which the terrace afforded me, I was disgusted by the custom which prevails in the houses like that in which I was lodged, of using the terrace as a sort of closet; and I had great difficulty in preventing my guide, Ammer el Waláti, who still staid with me and made the terrace his usual residence, from indulging in this filthy practice.

Being anxious to impart to my friends in Europe the news of my safe arrival in this far-famed town, I was busily employed in writing letters, which gave fresh impulse to my energy. My tormentor Sídi A'lawáte himself seemed anxious to rouse my spirits, which he could not but be conscious of

having contributed a great deal to depress, by sending me word that he himself would undertake to accompany me on my home journey, as he intended making the pilgrimage to Mekka; but, having once had full opportunity of judging of the character of this man, I placed but little confidence in his words.

Meanwhile, I began to provide what was most necessary for my comfort, and bought for myself and my people a piece of good bleached calico, "shígge," or "sehen híndi," as it is called here, for 13,500 shells, and three pieces of unbleached calico for 8000 each. At the same time I sent several articles into the market, in order to obtain a supply of the currency of the place, 3000 shells being reckoned equal to one Spanish dollar.

Thus I had begun to make myself a little more comfortable, when suddenly, on the morning of the 10th, while I was suffering from another attack of fever, I was excited by the report being circulated that the party opposed to my residence in the town was arming in order to attack me in my house. Now I must confess that, notwithstanding the profession of sincere friendship made to me by Sídi A'lawáte, I am inclined to believe that he himself was not free from treachery, and, perhaps, was in some respects implicated in this manœuvre, as he evidently supposed that, on the first rumor of such an attack being intended, I should abandon my house, or at least my property, when he might hope to get possession underhand of at least a good portion of the latter before the arrival of his brother, whom he knew to be a straight-forward man, and who would not connive at such intrigues. With this view, I have no doubt, he sent a female servant to my house, advising me to deposit all my goods in safety with the Táleb el Wáfi, as the danger which threatened me was very great; but this errand had no other effect than to rouse my spirits. I armed immediately, and ordered my servants to do the same, and my supposed protector was not a little astonished when he himself came shortly afterward with the Waláti (who, no doubt, was at the bottom of the whole affair) and found me ready to

defend myself and my property, and to repulse any attack that might be made upon my residence, from whatever quarter it might proceed. He asked me whether I meant to fight the whole population of the town, uttering the words "gúwet e' Rúm," "strength of the Christians;" and protested that I was quite safe under his protection, and had nothing to fear, and certainly, for the moment, my energetic conduct had dispersed the clouds that might have been impending over my head.

But, notwithstanding his repeated protestations of sincere friendship, and although he confirmed with his own mouth what I had already heard from other people, that he himself was to accompany me on my return journey as far as Bórnu, he did not discontinue for a moment his importunity in begging for more presents day by day.

One day he called on me in company with his principal pupils, and earnestly recommended me to change my religion, and from an unbeliever to become a true believer. Feeling myself strong enough in arguments to defend my own religious principles, I challenged him to demonstrate to me the superiority of his creed, telling him that in that case I should not fail to adopt it, but not till then. Upon this he and his pupils began with alacrity a spirited discussion, in the firm hope that they would soon be able to overcome my arguments; but after a little while they found them rather too strong, and were obliged to give in without making any farther progress at the time in their endeavors to persuade me to turn Mohammedan. This incident improved my situation in an extraordinary degree, by basing my safety on the sincere esteem which several of the most intelligent of the inhabitants contracted for me.

While thus gaining a more favorable position, even in the eyes of this unprincipled man, I had the pleasure of receiving a letter from his elder, more intelligent, and straightforward brother, the Sheikh el Bakáy himself, late in the evening of the 13th, full of the most assuring promises that I should be quite safe under his protection, and that he would soon arrive

to relieve me from my unsatisfactory position. And although I felt very unwell all this time, and especially the very day that I received this message, I did not lose a moment in sending the sheikh a suitable answer, wherein I clearly set forth all the motives which had induced me to visit this city, in conformity with the direct wish of the British government, whose earnest desire it was to open friendly intercourse with all the chiefs and princes of the earth; mentioning among other Mohammedan chiefs with whom such a relation existed, the Sultan 'Abd el Mejíd, Múlá 'Abd e' Rahmán, and the Imám of Maskat; and whose attention the region of the Great River (Niger), together with Timbúktu, had long attracted. At the same time I assured him that his own fame as a just and highly intelligent man, which I had received from my friends far to the east, in the heart of Negroland, had inspired me with full confidence that I should be safe under his protection. In consequence of the views which I set forth in this letter, I was so fortunate as to gain the lasting esteem of this excellent man, who was so much pleased with the contents of it that on its arrival in Gúndam, where he was at the time, he read it to all the principal men, Tawárek, Songhay, and even Fullán, in whose company he was staying.

Meanwhile, in order to obtain the friendship and to secure the interest of other and more selfish people, I gave away a great many presents; but, from what I learned afterward, I had reason to suspect that they did not all reach the persons for whom they were intended. Most of them remained in the possession of the greedy Weled A'mmer Waláti, through whose hands they had unfortunately to pass.

The day that I received the important message from the sheikh has been impressed on my memory with so much greater force, as it was the grand festival of the Mohammedans, or the 'Aíd el Kebír. Here also in this city, so far remote from the centre of Mohammedan worship, the whole population, on this important day, said their prayers outside the town; but there being no paramount chief to give unity to the whole of the festive arrangements, the ceremonies exhibited no striking fea-

tures, and the whole went off very tamely, only small parties of from six to ten persons forming groups for joining in prayer, while the whole procession comprised scarcely more than thirty horses.

After my fever had abated for a day or two it returned with greater violence on the 17th, and I felt at times extremely unwell and very weak, and in my feverish state was less inclined to bear with tranquillity and equanimity all the exactions and contributions levied upon me by Sídi A'lawáte. We had a thunder-storm almost every day, followed now and then by a tolerable quantity of rain; the greatest fall of rain, according to the information which I was able to gather, annually occurring during the month of September, a phenomenon in entire harmony with the northerly latitude of the place. This humidity, together with the character of the open hall in which I used to pass the night as well as the day, increased my indisposition not a little; but the regard for my security did not allow me to seek shelter in the store-room wherein I had placed my luggage, and which, being at the back of the hall, was well-protected against cold, and, as it seemed at least, even against wet. For, not to speak of the oppressive atmosphere and almost total darkness which prevailed in that close place, in taking up my residence there I should have exposed myself to the danger of a sudden attack, while from the hall where I was staying I was enabled to observe everything which was going on in my house; and through the screen which protected the opening, close by the side of my couch, I could observe everybody that entered my yard long before they saw me. For this reason I preferred this place even to the room on the terrace, although the latter had the advantage of better air. I may observe that these upper rooms in general form the private residence of most of the people in the town who have the luxury of such an upper story.

## CHAPTER XXIV.

Arrival of the Sheikh — Present from him—Interview with the Sheikh—Pistol — Conversation about Major Laing — Presents to the Sheikh — Effect of firing off a six-shooter — Intrigues and troubles — Manners—Preparations for a residence in the desert.

*Monday, September 26th.* About three o'clock in the morning, while I was lying restlessly on my couch, endeavoring in vain to snatch a moment's sleep, the Sheikh Sídi A'hmed el Bakáy arrived. The music, which was immediately struck up in front of his house by the women, was ill adapted to procure me rest; while the arrival of my protector, on whose disposition and power the success of my whole undertaking and my own personal safety fully depended, excited my imagination in the highest degree, and thus contributed greatly to increase my feverish state.

The following day I was so ill as to be quite unable to pay my respects to my protector, who sent me a message begging me to quiet myself, as I might rest assured that nothing but my succumbing to illness could prevent me from safely returning to my native home. Meanwhile, as a proof of his hospitable disposition, he sent me a handsome present, consisting of two oxen, two sheep, two large vessels of butter, one camel load, or "suníye," of rice, and another of negro corn, cautioning me, at the same time, against eating any food which did not come from his own house. In order to cheer my spirits he at once begged me to choose between the three roads by which I wanted to return home — either through the country of the Fúlbe, or in a boat on the river, or, by land, through the district of the Tawárek.

As from the first, I had been fully aware that neither the disposition of the natives, and especially that of the present

rulers of the country, the Fúlbe, nor the state of my means, would allow me to proceed westward, and as I felt persuaded that laying down the course of the Niger from Timbúktu to Sáy would far outweigh in importance a journey through the upper country toward the Senegal, I was firm in desiring from the beginning to be allowed to visit Gógó. For, not deeming it prudent, in order to avoid creating unnecessary suspicion, to lay too great stress upon navigating the river, I preferred putting forward the name of the capital of the Songhay empire, as in visiting that place I was sure that I should see at least the greater part of the river, while at the same time I should come into contact with the Tawárek, who are the ruling tribe throughout its whole course.

But the generous offer of my friend was rather premature; and if at that time I had known that I was still to linger in this quarter for eight months longer, in my then feeble condition; I should scarcely have been able to support such an idea; but fortunately Providence does not reveal to man what awaits him, and he toils on without rest in the dark.

*Tuesday, September 27th.* This was the anniversary of the death of Mr. Overweg, my last and only European companion, whom I had now outlived a whole year; and whom, considering the feeble state of my health at this time, while my mind was oppressed with the greatest anxiety, I was too likely soon to follow to the grave. Nevertheless, feeling a little better when rising from my simple couch in the morning, and confiding in the protection tendered me by a man whose straightforward character was the theme of general admiration, and which plainly appeared in the few lines which I had received from him, I fondly cherished the hope that this day next year it might be my good fortune to have fairly embarked upon my home journey from Negroland, and perhaps not to be far from home itself. I therefore, with cheerful spirit, made myself ready for my first audience, and leaving my other presents behind, and taking only a small six-barreled pistol with me, which I was to present to the sheikh, I proceeded to his house, which was almost opposite my own, there intervening between

them only a narrow lane and a small square, where the sheikh had established his "msíd," or daily place of prayer. A'hmed el Bakáy, son of Sídi Mohammed, and grandson of Sídi Mukhtár, of the tribe of the Kunta, was at that time a man of about fifty years of age, rather above the middle height, full proportioned, with a cheerful, intelligent, and almost European countenance, of a rather blackish complexion, with whiskers of tolerable length, intermingled with some gray hair, and with dark eyelashes. His dress consisted at the time of nothing but a black tobe, a fringed shawl thrown loosely over the head, and trowsers, both of the same color.

I found my host in the small upper room on the terrace, in company with his young nephew, Mohammed ben Khottár, and two confidential pupils, and, at the very first glance which I obtained of him, I was agreeably surprised at finding a man whose countenance itself bore testimony to a straightforward and manly character; both which qualities I had found so sadly wanting in his younger brother, Sídi A'lawáte. Cheered by the expression of good-nature in his countenance as he rose from his seat to receive me, and, relieved from all anxiety, I paid him my compliments with entire confidence, and entered into a conversation, which was devoid of any affected and empty ceremonious phrases, but from the first moment was an unrestrained exchange of thoughts between two persons who, with great national diversity of manners and ideas, meet for the first time.

The pistol, however, with which I presented him, soon directed our conversation to the subject of the superiority of Europeans in manufacturing skill, and in the whole scale of human existence; and one of the first questions which my host put to me was, whether it was true, as the Ráis (Major Laing) had informed his father, Sídi Mohammed, during his stay in A'zawád, that the capital of the British empire contained twenty times 100,000 people.

I then learned to my great satisfaction, what I afterward found confirmed by the facts stated in Major Laing's correspondence—that this most enterprising but unfortunate travel-

ler, having been plundered and almost killed by the Tawárek in the valley Ahénnet, on his way from Tawát, was conducted by his guides to, and made a long stay at the camp or station of the sheikh's father, Sídi Mohammed, in the hillet Sídi el Mukhtár, the place generally called by Major Laing Beled Sídi Mohammed, but sometimes Beled Sídi Mooktar, the major being evidently puzzled as to these names, and apt to confound the then head of the family, Sídi Mohammed, with the ancestor Sídi Mukhtár, after whom that holy place has been called. It is situated half a day's journey from the frequented well Bel Mehán, on the great northerly road, but is at present deserted.

We thus came to speak of Major Laing, here known under the name of E' Ráís (the Major), the only Christian that my host and most of the people hereabouts had ever seen; the French traveller, Réné Caillié, who traversed this tract in 1828, having, in his poor disguise, entirely escaped their observation, not to speak of the sailors Adams and Scott, who are said to have visited this place, although their narrative does not reveal a single trait which can be identified with its features.

Major Laing, during the whole time of our intercourse, formed one of the chief topics of conversation, and my noble friend never failed to express his admiration, not only of the major's bodily strength, but of his noble and chivalrous character. I made immediate inquiries with regard to Major Laing's papers, but unfortunately, not being provided with a copy of the blue book containing all the papers relating to that case, I had not the means of establishing all the points disputed. I only learned at the time none of those papers were in existence, although the sheikh himself told me that the major, while staying in A'zawád, had drawn up a map of the whole northerly part of the desert from Tawát as far south as the hillet or the place of residence of his father.

Meanwhile, while we were conversing about the fate of my precursor in the exploration of these regions, my host assured me repeatedly of my own perfect safety in the place, and promised that he would send the most faithful of his followers,

Mohammed el 'Aísh, with me to the Tawárek, from whence I might continue my journey in the company of my former companion. Such, I think, was really his intention at the time, but circumstances, which I am soon to detail, were to change all these premature plans.

Having returned to my quarters I sent my host his present, which consisted of three bernúses, viz., one heláli, or white silk or cotton mixed, and two of the finest cloth, one of green and the other of red color; two cloth kaftáns, one black and the other yellow; a carpet from Constantinople; four tobes, viz., one very rich, of the kind called "harír," and bought for 30,000 shells, or twelve dollars, one of the kind called filfil, and two best black tobes; twenty Spanish dollars in silver; three black shawls, and several smaller articles, the whole amounting to the value of about £30. He then sent a message to me, expressing his thanks for the liberality of the government in whose service I was visiting him, and stating that he did not want anything more from me; but he begged that after my safe return home I would not forget him, but would request her majesty's government to send him some good firearms and some Arabic books; and I considered myself authorized in assuring him that I had no doubt the English government would not fail to acknowledge his services, if he acted in a straightforward manner throughout.

Pleasant and cheering as was this whole interview, nevertheless, in consequence of the considerable excitement which it caused me in my weak state, I felt my head greatly affected; and I was seized with a shivering fit about noon the following day, just as I was going to pay another visit to my friend. On the last day of September I entered into a rather warm dispute with A'lawáte, whom I met at his brother's house, and whose ungenerous conduct I could not forget. My protector not possessing sufficient energy, and, in his position, not feeling independent enough to rebuke his brother for the trouble which he had caused me, begged me repeatedly to bear patiently his importunities, though he was aware of my reasons for disliking him. On another occasion he made me fire off

the six-barrelled pistol in front of his house, before a numerous assemblage of people. This caused extraordinary excitement and astonishment among the people, and exercised a great influence upon my future safety, as it made them believe that I had arms all over my person, and could fire as many times as I liked.

Thus the month of September concluded satisfactorily and most auspiciously, as it seemed. For I had not only succeeded in reaching in safety this city, but I was also well received on the whole; and the only question seemed to be how I was to return home by the earliest opportunity and the safest route. But all my prospects changed with the first of the ensuing month, when the difficulties of my situation increased, and all hopes of a speedy departure appeared to be at an end; for in the afternoon of the first of October, a considerable troop of armed men, mustering about twenty muskets, arrived from Hamda-Alláhi, the residence of the Shekho A'hmedu ben A'hmedu, to whose nominal sway the town of Timbúktu and the whole province has been subjected since the conquest of the town in the beginning of the year 1826. These people brought with them an order from the capital to drive me out of the town; and Hammádi, the nephew and rival of the Sheikh el Bakáy, feeling himself strengthened by the arrival of such a force, availed himself of so excellent an opportunity of enhancing his influence, and, in consequence, issued a proclamation to the inhabitants of the town, commanding them, in stringent terms, to attend to the orders of the emír, and, in the event of my offering resistance, not even to spare my life.

There can scarcely be any doubt that my protector, as far as a man of a rather weak character was capable of any firm resolution, had intended to send me off by the very first opportunity that should offer; but the order issued by the emír of Hamda-Alláhi (to whose authority he was vehemently opposed), that I should be forthwith driven out of the town or slain, roused his spirit of opposition. He felt, too, that the difficulties of my leaving this place in safety were thus greatly augmented. All thoughts of my immediate departure were

therefore set aside; partly, no doubt, from regard to my security, but much more from an anxious desire to show the Fullán, or Fúlbe, that he was able to keep me here, notwithstanding their hostile disposition and their endeavors to the contrary. There were, besides, the intrigues of the Waláti, my guide on the journey from Yágha, who, finding that the sheikh did not approve of his dishonest conduct toward me, endeavored to get me out of his hands, in order that he might deal with me as he liked. My broker, too, 'Alí el A'geren, seeing the difficulties of my situation, gave me entirely up, making his own safety the only object of his thoughts.

The sheikh, when he had fully understood what I had told him with regard to the power and the political principles of the sovereign of Great Britain, had determined to write a letter with his own hand, expressing his satisfaction that I had come to pay him my compliments, and in order to endeavor to counteract the discouraging effects produced by the account of Major Laing's death, and if possible to obtain for himself a few presents. This letter, it was understood in the beginning, I myself should take with me; but in the evening of the third of October, I suddenly, to my great amazement, received the intelligence that I was to send my man, 'Alí A'geren, to Ghadámes or Tripoli with this letter, accompanying it with a note from my own hand, while I myself remained behind, as a kind of hostage, in Timbúktu, until the articles which the Sheikh el Bakáy had written for were received. But I was not to be treated in this way by intrigues of my own people; and the following morning I sent a simple protest to the sheikh, stating that as for himself he might do just as he liked, and if he chose to keep me as a prisoner or hostage he might do so as long as he thought fit, but that he must not expect to receive so much as a needle from the government that had sent me until I myself should have returned in safety. My host, too, had just before intimated to me that it would be best to deliver my horse and my gun into his hands; but I sent him an answer that neither the one nor the other should leave my house until my head had left my shoulders. It was rather remarkable that

a person of so mean a character as the Waláti should for a moment gain the upper hand of a man of such an excellent disposition as the sheikh; but it was quite natural that this clever rogue should continually incite Sídi A'lawáte to make new demands upon my small store of valuable articles.

Meanwhile, while I was thus kept in a constant state of excitement, I was not free from anxiety in other respects. A thunderstorm, accompanied by the most plentiful rain which I had experienced during my stay in this place, had in the afternoon of the 3d October inundated my house, and, breaking through the wall of my store-room, had damaged the whole of my luggage, my books, and medicines, as well as my presents and articles of exchange. But my situation was soon to improve, as the sheikh became aware of the faithless and despicable character of my former companion and guide; and while he ordered the latter to fetch my camels from A'ribínda, which it was now but too apparent he had sold on his own account instead of having them taken care of for me, he informed me of what had come to his knowledge of the Waláti's previous character and disreputable habits.

The Emír of Hamda-Alláhi's sending a force to Timbúktu in order to dispose of me, with the assistance of the inhabitants of that town, without paying the slightest regard to the opinion of my protector, had caused a considerable reaction in the whole relation of the sheikh to the townspeople, and he had made up his mind to pitch his camp outside the city, in order to convince the inhabitants, and the Fullán in particular, that he did not depend upon them, but had mightier friends and a more powerful spell upon which he could safely rely. He had even, while still absent in Gúndam, opened communication with A'wáb, the chief of the Tademékket, to this effect.

But all these proceedings required more energy and a more warlike character than, I am sorry to say, my friend and protector actually possessed; and our adversaries were so busy, that, in the night of the 9th, owing to the arrival of a party of Tawárek, who were well known not to be friendly disposed toward him, he was so intimidated that at two o'clock in the

morning he himself came to my house, rousing us from our sleep, and requesting us most urgently to keep watch, as he was afraid that something was going on against me. We therefore kept a constant look-out the whole night on our terrace, and seeing that the rear of our house was in a partial state of decay, facilitating an attack in that quarter, we set to work early in the morning repairing the wall and barricading it with thorny bushes. The artisans of the town were so afraid of the party hostile to me, who were the nominal rulers, that no one would undertake the task of repairing my house. However, the more intelligent natives of the place did all in their power to prevent my learned friend from leaving the town, as they felt sure that such a proceeding would be the commencement of troubles. The consequence was that we did not get off on the 10th, although the sheikh had sent his wife and part of his effects away the preceding night, and it was not till a little before noon the following day that we actually left the town.

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## CHAPTER XXV.

Dr. Barth and the Sheikh el Bakáy go to reside at a camp outside of Timbúktu—Friendly disposition of the Sheikh—Disputes in his family—Sídi A'lawáte tries to convert Dr. Barth to Mohammedanism—Return to the city—More rascalities of the Arab Waláti—Description of Timbúktu—Excursion to Kabára and residence in camp.

*October* 11*th.* This was an important moment for myself, as, with the exception of an occasional visit to the sheikh, who lived only a few yards across the street, and an almost daily promenade on my terrace, I had not moved about since my arrival. With a deep consciousness of the critical position in which I was placed, I followed my protector, who, mounted on his favorite white mare, led the way through the streets of the town, along which the assembled natives were thronging in order to get a glance at me. Leaving the high mounds of

rubbish which constitute the ground-work of the northern part of the town on our left, and pursuing a north-northeasterly direction over a sandy tract covered with stunted bushes, and making only a short halt near a well five miles from the town, for the purpose of watering our horses, after a march of two miles more we reached the camp, which could easily be recognised at a great distance by two large white cotton tents, whose size and situation made them conspicuous above some smaller leathern dwellings. It was just about sunset; and the open country with its rich mimosas, and with the camp on the rising ground, the white sandy soil of which was illuminated by the last rays of the setting sun, presented an interesting spectacle. The younger inhabitants of the camp, including Bábá Ahmed and 'Abidín, two favorite boys of the sheikh, one five, the other four years of age, came out to meet us; and I soon afterward found myself lodged in an indigenous tent of camel's hair, which was pitched at the foot of the hill, belonging to Mohammed el Khalíl, a relative of the sheikh, who had come from his native home in Tíris, on the shores of the Atlantic, in order to share his uncle's blessing.

In this encampment we passed several days in the most quiet and retired manner, when my friend revealed to me his course of action. It was his intention, he said, to bring the old chief Galaijo, from the place of his exile in Champagóre, back to this part of Negroland, which he had formerly ruled, and to reinstate him, by the aid of the Tawárek, in the government of Másina with the residence Hamda-Alláhi, of which he was to deprive the family of Lebbo. But even if it was true, as he said, that the Fúlbe themselves, as well as those settled between Fermágha and Gúndam, as those inhabiting the provinces of Dalla, Dwenza, and Gilgóji, were opposed to the government of Lebbo, such a project appeared to me to require a greater share of perseverance and determination than, from all that I had seen, I could believe my noble friend possessed. However, he entertained no doubt at that time that Alkúttabu, the great chief of the Tawárek himself, would come to his aid

without delay and conduct me, under his powerful protection, safely along the banks of the Niger.

However exaggerated the projects of my protector were, considering his mild disposition, and although by exasperating the Fúlbe more and more, he no doubt increased the difficulties of my situation, the moving of his encampment outside the town afforded me a great deal of relief, both in consequence of the change of air which it procured me, and of the varied scenery. I could also get here a little exercise, although the more open the country was, the greater care I had to take of my safety. In the morning, particularly, the camp presented a very animated sight. The two large white tents of cotton cloth, with their top-covering, or "sarámme," of checkered design, and their woollen curtains of various colors, were half opened to allow the morning air to pervade them. The other smaller ones were grouped picturesquely around on the slope, which was enlivened by camels, cattle, and goats that were just being driven out. All nature was awake and full of bustle, and the trees were swarming with white pigeons. In the evening, again, there were the cattle returning from their pasturage, the slaves bringing water on the backs of the asses, and the people grouped together in the simple place of devotion, laid out with thorny bushes, in order to say their prayers, guided by the melodious voice of their teacher, who never failed to join them. At this time a chapter of the Kurán was chanted by the best instructed of the pupils, and continued often till a late hour at night, the sound of these beautiful verses, in their melodious fall, reverberating from the downs around; at other times animated conversation ensued, and numerous groups gathered on the open ground by the side of the fire.

We returned into the town on the 13th.

The interests of the different members of the family now began to clash. The sheikh himself was firm in his opposition against the Fúlbe, and requested me in future, when I visited him, to come to his house fully armed, in order to show our adversaries that I was ready to repulse any violence; and it was in vain that I protested that, as I came with peaceable in-

tentions, nothing could be farther from my wish than to cause any disturbance in the town. Meanwhile, his brother, Sídi A'lawáte, suborned one of the sheikh's pupils to make another attempt to convert me to Islamism. This man was one of the most learned followers of the sheikh, having resided for nearly thirty years in the family. Partly on this account, partly on account of his great religious knowledge, and his volubility of speech, he possessed great influence with all the people, although his prudence and forbearance were not conspicuous. But, finding that his usual arguments in favor of his creed did not avail with me, he soon desisted. This was the last time these people attempted to make me a proselyte to their religion, with the exception of some occasional serious advice from my friends under the temporary pressure of political difficulties.

The emir of the place, of the name of Kaúri, who was a good-natured man, and whose colleague, Belle, was absent at the time, having advised my protector to take me again out of the town for a few days, till the Kádhi A'hmed Weled F'aamme, who was going to Hamda-Allâhi, and who was especially hostilely disposed toward me, should have left, we again set out, on the morning of the 17th October; but, having staid in the encampment that night and the following morning, we returned to the town the same afternoon, but left again on the morning of the 20th, when the kafla of the Tawátíye was ready to set out on their journey to the north, and staid with them during the heat of the day.

The caravan having started the following morning, we staid two days longer in the camp, and then once more returned into the town, without any farther difficulty, in the company of Sídi A'lawáte, who had come out to join us with a body of armed followers, and who behaved now, on the whole, much more amiably toward me.

The Fúlbe, however, did not give up their point, and, as they did not find themselves strong enough to proceed to open violence, made an indirect attack upon me by putting in irons on the 27th some Arabs or Moors, on the pretext of having

neglected their prayers, thereby protesting strongly enough against a person of an entirely different creed staying in the town. The Emír Kaúri himself, who, on the whole, seemed to be a man of good sense, was in a most awkward position; and when the kádhi informed him that, if he was not able to execute the order which he had received from his liege lord, he should solicit the assistance of the people of Timbúktu, he refused to have recourse to violence till he had received stricter orders to that effect and more effectual aid; for, in the event of his having driven me out, and anything having befallen me, the whole blame would be thrown upon him, as had been the case with Sídi Bú-Bakr the governor, who, obeying the orders of Mohammed Lebbo, had obliged the Ráis (Major Laing) to leave the town, and thus, in some measure, was the cause of his death, that distinguished traveller having thrown himself in despair into the arms of Hámed Weled 'Abéda, the chief of the Berabísh, who murdered him in the desert.

But, on the other hand, the emír endeavored to dissuade my protector, who was about to send a messenger to Alkúttabu, the great chief of the Awelímmiden, to summon him to his assistance, from carrying out his intention, fearing lest the result of this proceeding might be a serious conflict between the Tawárek and the Fúlbe. However, from all that I saw, I became aware that the chance of my departure was more remote than ever. I therefore again protested to my friend that it was my earnest desire to set out on my home journey as soon as possible, and that I felt not a little annoyed at the continual procrastination.

Several circumstances occurred at this time to make me feel the delay more deeply, so that notwithstanding my sincere esteem for my protector, I thought it better, when we again left the town in the evening of the 27th, to remain where I was; for after my return from our last excursion, in consequence of the severe cold during the night, I had been visited by a serious attack of rheumatism, which had rendered me quite lame for a day or two.

With regard to the means of my departure, the Waláti,

whom I had sent out at a great expense to bring my horses and camels from the other side of the river, had brought back my horses in the most emaciated condition. As for the camels, he had intended to appropriate them for his own use; but I defeated his scheme by making a present of them to the sheikh. This brought all the Waláti's other intrigues to light, especially the circumstance of his having presented a small pistol (which I had given to himself) to Hammádi, the sheikh's rival, intimating that it came from me, and thus endangering my whole position, by making the sheikh believe that I was giving presents to his rivals and his enemies. But my protector acted nobly on this occasion; for he not only warned me against the intrigues of the Waláti, and would not lend an ear to his numerous calumnies against me, but he even preferred me, the Christian, to my Mohammedan companion, the Méjebrí, 'Alí el A'geren, who was sometimes led, through fear, to take the part of the Waláti; and the Méjebrí, who thought himself almost a sherif, and murmured his prayers the whole evening long, felt not a little hurt and excited when he found that the sheikh placed infinitely more reliance upon me than upon himself.

The city of Timbúktu, according to Dr. Peterman's laying down of it from my materials, lies in 17° 37′ N. and 3° 5′ W. of Greenwich. Situated only a few feet above the average level of the river, and at a distance of six miles from the principal branch, it at present forms a sort of triangle, the base of which points toward the river, while the projecting angle is directed toward the north, having for its centre the mosque of Sánkoré. But, during the zenith of its power, the town extended a thousand yards further north, and included the tomb of the Fáki Mahmúd, which, according to some of my informants, was then situated in the midst of the town.

The circumference of the city at the present time I reckon at a little more than two miles and a half; but it may approach closely to three miles, taking into account some of the projecting angles. Although of only small size, Timbúktu may well be called a city — medína — in comparison with the frail

dwelling-places all over Negroland. At present it is not walled. Its former wall, which seems never to have been of great magnitude, and was rather more of the nature of a rampart, was destroyed by the Fúlbe on their first entering the place in the beginning of the year 1826. The town is laid out partly in rectangular, partly in winding streets, or, as they are called here "tijeráten," which are not paved, but for the greater part consist of hard sand and gravel, and some of them have a sort of gutter in the middle. Besides the large and the small market there are few open areas, except a small square in front of the mosque of Yáhia, called Túmbutubóttema.

Small as it is, the city is tolerably well inhabited, and almost all the houses are in good repair. There are about 980 clay houses, and a couple of hundred conical huts of matting, the latter, with a few exceptions, constituting the outskirts of the town on the north and northeast sides, where a great deal of rubbish, which has been accumulating in the course of several centuries, is formed into conspicuous mounds. The clay houses are all of them built on the same principle as my own residence, which I have described, with the exception that the houses of the poorer people have only one court-yard, and have no upper room on the terrace.

The only remarkable public buildings in the town are the three large mosques: the Jíngeré-bér, built by Mansa Músa; the mosque of Sánkoré, built at an early period at the expense of a wealthy woman; and the mosque Sídi Yáhia, built at the expense of a kádhi of the town. There were three other mosques: that of Sídi Háj Mohammed, Msíd Belál, and that of Sídi el Bámi. These mosques, and perhaps some little msíd, or place of prayer, Caillié must have included when he speaks of seven mosques. Besides these mosques there are at present no distinguished public buildings in the town; and of the royal palace, or M'a-dugu, wherein the kings of Songhay used to reside occasionally, as well as the Kasbah, which was built in later times, in the southeastern quarter, or the "Sanegungu," which already at that time was inhabited by the mer-

chants from Ghadámes, not a trace is to be seen. Besides this quarter, which is the wealthiest, and contains the best houses, there are six other quarters, viz., Yúbu, the quarter comprising the great market-place (yúbu) and the mosque of Sídi Yáhia, to the west of Sane-gungu; and west of the former, forming the southwestern angle of the town, and called, from the great mosque, Jíngeré-bér or Zángeré-bér. This latter quarter, from the most ancient times, seems to have been inhabited especially by Mohammedans, and not unlikely may have formed a distinct quarter, separated from the rest of the town by a wall of its own. Toward the north, the quarter Sane-gungu is bordered by the one called Sara-káina, meaning literally the "little town," and containing the residence of the sheikh, and the house where I myself was lodged. Attached to Sara-káina, toward the north, is Yúbu-káina, the quarter containing the "little market," which is especially used as a butcher's market. Bordering both on Jíngeré-bér and Yúbu-káina is the quarter Bagíndi, occupying the lowest situation in the town, and stated by the inhabitants to have been flooded entirely in the great inundation which took place in 1640. From this depression in the ground, the quarter of Sánkoré, which forms the northernmost angle of the city, rises to a considerable elevation, in such a manner that the mosque of Sánkoré, which seems to occupy its ancient site and level, is at present situated in a deep hollow — an appearance which seems to prove that this elevation of the ground is caused by the accumulation of rubbish, in consequence of the repeated ruin which seems to have befallen this quarter pre-eminently, as being the chief stronghold of the native Songhay. The slope which this quarter forms toward the northeastern end in some spots exceeds eighty feet.

The whole number of the settled inhabitants of the town amounts to about 13,000, while the floating population during the months of the greatest traffic and intercourse, especially from November to January, may amount on an average to 5000, and under favorable circumstances to as many as 10,000.

[Dr. Barth made an excursion with the sheikh to Kabára,

the harbor of Timbúktu, and they took up their residence at the desert camp already described.]

Notwithstanding trifling incidents which tended occasionally to alleviate the tediousness of our stay, I was deeply afflicted by the immense delay and loss of time, and did not allow an opportunity to pass by of urging my protector to hasten our departure; and he promised me that, as I was not looking for property, he should not keep me long. But, nevertheless, his slow and deliberate character could not be overcome, and it was not until the arrival of another messenger from Hamda-Alláhi, with a fresh order from the sheikh to deliver me into his hands, that he was induced to return into the town.

My situation in this turbulent place now approached a serious crisis; but, through the care which my friends took of me, I was not allowed to become fully aware of the danger I was in. The sheikh himself was greatly excited, but came to no decision with regard to the measures to be taken; and at times he did not see any safety for me except by my taking refuge with the Tawárek, and placing myself entirely under their protection. But as for myself I remained quiet, although my spirits were far from being buoyant; especially as, during this time, I suffered severely from rheumatism; and I had become so tired of this stay outside in the tents, where I was not able to write, that, when the sheikh went out again in the evening of the 16th, I begged him to let me remain where I was. Being anxious about my safety, he returned the following evening. However, on the 22d, I was obliged to accompany him on another visit to the tents, which had now been pitched in a different place, on a bleak sandy eminence, about five miles east from the town, but this time he kept his promise of not staying more than twenty-four hours. It was at this encampment that I saw again the last four of my camels, which at length, after innumerable delays, and with immense expense, had been brought from beyond the river, but they were in a miserable condition, and furnished another excuse to my friends for putting off my departure, the animals being scarcely fit to undertake a journey.

## CHAPTER XXVI.

Political troubles in Timbúktu — Dr. Barth's life threatened — The camp menaced — Dr. Barth defended by the sheikh—The chief A′wáb—Letter from Mr. Dickson — Firman from Stambúl demanded — Mungo Park — Death of 'Alí — Rise of the Niger.

In the mean time, while I was thus warding off a decisive blow from my enemies, the political horizon of these extensive regions became rather more turbulent than usual; and war and feud raged in every quarter.

The danger of my situation increased when, on the 17th of November, some more messengers from the prince of Hamda-Alláhi arrived in order to raise the zek'a, and at the same time we received authentic information that the Fúlbe had made an attempt to instigate A′wáb, the chief of the Tademékket, upon whom I chiefly relied for my security, to betray me into their hands. News also arrived that the Welád Slímán, that section of the Berabísh to which belongs especially the chief Hámed Weled 'Abéda, who killed Major Laing, had bound themselves by an oath to put me to death. But my situation became still more critical toward the close of the month, when, having once more left the town for the tents, we received information that a fresh party had arrived from the capital with the strictest orders to take me dead or alive.

*Thursday, December* 1*st.* Having passed a rather anxious night, with my pistols in my girdle, and ready for any emergency, I was glad when, in the morning, I saw my boy return accompanied by Mohammed el 'Aísh. But I learned that the people of the town were in a state of great excitement, and that there was no doubt but an attack would be made upon my house the next morning. Thus much I made out myself; but having no idea of the imminence of the danger, in the course of the day I sent away my only servant with my two

horses, for the purpose of being watered. But my Tawáti friend seemed to be better informed, and taking his post on the rising ground of the sandy downs, on the slope of which we were encamped, kept an anxious look-out toward the town. About dhohor, or two o'clock in the afternoon, he gave notice of the approach of horsemen in the distance, and while I went into my tent to look after my effects, Mohammed el Khalíl rushed in suddenly, crying out to me to arm myself. Upon this I seized all the arms I had, consisting of a double-barrelled gun, three pistols, and a sword; and I had scarcely come out when I met the sheikh himself with the small six-barrelled pistol which I had given him in his hand. Handing one of my large pistols to Mohammed ben Mukhtár, a young man of considerable energy, and one of the chief followers of the sheikh, I knelt down and pointed my gun at the foremost of the horsemen who, to the number of thirteen, were approaching. Having been brought to a stand by our threatening to fire if they came nearer, their officer stepped forward crying out that he had a letter to deliver to the sheikh; but the latter forbade him to come near, saying that he would only receive the letter in the town, and not in the desert. The horsemen, finding that I was ready to shoot down the first two or three who should approach me, consulted with each other and then slowly fell back, relieving us from our anxious situation. But, though reassured of my own safety, I had my fears as to my servant and my two horses, and was greatly delighted when I saw them safely return from the water. However, our position soon became more secure in consequence of the arrival of Sídi A'lawáte, accompanied by a troop of armed men, among whom there were some musketeers. It now remained to be decided what course we should pursue, and there was great indecision, A'lawáte wanting to remain himself with me at the tents, while the sheikh returned to the town.

But besides my dislike to stay any longer at the encampment, I had too little confidence in the younger brother of the sheikh to trust my life in his hands, and I was therefore ex-

tremely delighted to find that El Bakáy himself, and Mohammed el 'Aísh, thought it best for me to return into the town! At the moment when we mounted our horses, a troop of Kélhekíkan, although not always desirable companions, mounted on mehára, became visible in the distance, so that in their company we reëntered Timbúktu, not only with full security, but with great *éclat*, and without a single person daring to oppose our entrance; though Hammádi, the sheikh's rival, was just about to collect his followers in order to come himself and fight us at the tents. Frustrated in this plan, he came to my protector in his "msíd," or place of prayer in front of his house, and had a serious conversation with him, while the followers of the latter armed themselves in order to anticipate any treachery or evil design, of which they were greatly afraid, But the interview passed off quietly, and, keeping strict watch on the terrace of our house, we passed the ensuing night without farther disturbance.

This happened on the 1st of December; and the following morning, in conformity with the sheikh's protest, that he would receive the Emír of Hamda-Alláhi's letter only in Timbúktu, the messenger arrived; but the latter being a man of ignoble birth, called Mohammed ben S'aíd, the character of the messenger irritated my host almost more even than the tenor of the letter, which ordered him to give me and my property up into the hands of his (the emír's) people. After having given vent to his anger, he sent for me, and handed me the letter, together with another which had been addressed to the Emír Kaúri, and the whole community of the town, whites as well as blacks (el bedhán ú e' sudán), threatening them with condign punishment if they should not capture me, or watch me in such a manner that I could not escape.

But the sheikh adhered to me without wavering for a moment. He sat down and wrote a spirited and circumstantial letter to Séko A'hmedu, wherein he reproached him with attempting to take out of his hands by force a man better versed in subjects of religion than he, the emír himself, who

had come from a far distant country to pay him his respects, and who was his guest.

The following day, while I was in the company of the sheikh, the Emír Kaúri and the Kádhi San-shírfu, together with several other principal personages, called upon him, when I paid my compliments to them all, and found that the latter especially was a very respectable man. My friend had provided for any emergency, having sent to the Tademékket, requesting them urgently to come to his assistance; and, in the evening of the 6th of December, A'wáb, the chief of the Tinger-égedesh, arrived with fifty horse, and was lodged by El Bakáy in the neighborhood of our quarters.

The next morning the sheikh sent for me to pay my compliments to this chief. I found him a very stately person of a proud commanding bearing, clad in a jellába tobe striped red and white, and ornamented with green silk, his head adorned with a high red cap, an article of dress which is very rarely seen here, either among the Tawárek or even the Arabs. Having saluted him, I explained to him the reason of my coming, and for what purpose I sought imána; and when he raised an objection on account of my creed, because I did not acknowledge Mohammed as a prophet, I succeeded in warding off his attack by telling him that they themselves did not acknowledge Mohammed as the only prophet, but likewise acknowledged Músa, 'Aísa, and many others; and that, in reality, they seemed to acknowledge in a certain degree, the superiority of 'Aísa,* by supposing that he was to return at the end of the world; and that thus, while we had a different prophet, but adored and worshipped one and the same God, and, leaving out of the question a few divergences in point of diet and morals, followed the same religious principles as they themselves did, it seemed to me that we were nearer to each other than he thought, and might well be friends, offering to each other those advantages which each of us commanded.

In the evening of the 7th a slave suddenly arrived with the

* 'Aísa, Jesus.

news that a letter had reached my address from the north. He was followed a short time afterward by Mohammed el 'Aísh, who brought me the parcel in question, which, however, had been opened. The letter was from Mr. Charles Dickson, her majesty's vice-consul in Ghadámes, dated June 18th, and inclosing, besides some recommendations to native merchants, a number of "Galignani," which informed me of the first movements of the Russians on the Danube. The Ghadámsíye people, who were the bearers of the letter, had already spread the news of a dreadful battle having been fought between the Turks and the Russians, in which 30,000 of the latter had been slain and 40,000 made prisoners.

The following day A'wáb, who himself had arrived with fifty horsemen, was joined by his cousin Fandaghúmme with fifty more. This was very fortunate; for, about dhohor, the Fúlbe held a conference or "kéndegáy" in the Géngeré-ber or Jám'a el Kebíra, where Hámed Weled F'aamme, the malignant and hostile kádhi, made a violent speech before the assembly, exhorting the people to go immediately and carry out the order of their liege lord the Sheikho A'hmedu, even if they were to fight conjointly against El Bakáy, A'wáb, and the Emír Kaúri, whom he represented as disobedient and almost rebellious to his liege lord. A friend of the latter, who knew the cowardly disposition of the speaker, then rose in the assembly, and exhorted the kádhi to lead the van, and proceed to the attack, when every one would follow him. But the kádhi not choosing to expose his own person to danger, nothing was done, and the assembly separated, every one going quietly to his home.

Meanwhile the two Tawárek chiefs, with their principal men, were assembled in the house of the sheikh, where I went to meet them, but found them not quite satisfied with the part which they were acting. They entered into a warm dispute with me upon the subject of religion, but soon found themselves so perplexed that they left it to the sheikh to answer all my objections. A Protestant Christian may easily defend his

creed against these children of the desert, as long as they have not recourse to arms.

Next morning we left the narrow lanes of Timbúktu and entered upon the open sandy desert, accompanied by the two Tawárek chiefs, each of whom had fifteen companions. Leathern tents had been pitched for the Tawárek, who in a short time made themselves quite at home, and were in high spirits. They became very much interested in a map of Africa which I showed to them, with the adjoining shores of Arabia, and they paid a compliment to their prophet by kissing the site of Mekka.

Being thus on good terms with my barbaric veiled friends, the Molathemún, I enjoyed extremely, the following morning, the half-desert scenery, enlivened as it was by horses, camels, cattle, and interesting groups of men; but about noon a serious alarm arose, a great many horses being seen in the distance, and the number being exaggerated by some people to as many as two hundred. In consequence, we saddled our horses with great speed, and I mounted with my servants, while the Tawárek also kept their animals in readiness; but the advancing host appeared rather of a peaceable character, consisting of about twenty-five of the most respectable inhabitants of the town, with Muláy 'Abd e' Salám and Fasídi, the latter a very noble old man, at their head. They came, however, on a very important errand, based on the direct order as promulgated by the Emír of Hamda-Alláhi, and addressed to the whole community, being in hopes that, through their personal authority, they might obtain from my host, in a friendly manner, what he had denied to the display of force. They had two requests, both aimed against myself: first, that El Bakáy should give them a copy of the letter which I was said to have brought with me from Stambúl; and the second, which was more explicit, that I should not return into the town. Now my firmán from Stambúl was my greatest trouble, for, having anxiously requested her British majesty's government to send such a document after me, I always expected to receive it by some means or other; but I was not less disap-

pointed in this respect, than in my expectation of receiving a letter of recommendation from Morocco; nevertheless, as I had some other letters from Mohammedans, the sheikh promised to comply with the first demand of these people, while he refused to pay any attention to the second. After some unsuccessful negotiation, the messengers retraced their steps rather disheartened.

It was near sunset when we mounted in order to return into the town; and on the way I kept up a conversation with A'wáb, till the time of the mughreb prayer arrived, when the whole of my friends went to pray on the desert ground, while I myself, remaining on horseback, went a little on one side of the track. My companions afterward contended that it was from motives of pride and arrogance that I did not humble myself in the dust before the Almighty. I should certainly have liked to kneel down and thank Providence for the remarkable manner in which my life had hitherto been preserved; but I did not deem it politic to give way to their mode of thinking and worship in any respect; for I should have soon been taken for a Mohammedan, and, once in such a false position, there would have been no getting out of it.

The same evening I had an interesting conversation with the chief A'wáb, who paid me a long visit, in company with his m'allem, and gave me the first account of the proceedings of that Christian traveller Mungo Park (to use his own words), who, about fifty years ago, came down the river in a large boat; describing the manner in which he had been first attacked by the Tawárek below Kábara, where he had lost some time in endeavoring to open a communication with the natives, while the Tinger-égedish forwarded the news of his arrival, without delay, to the Igwádaren, who, having collected their canoes, attacked him, first near Bamba, and then again at the narrow passage of Tósaye, though all in vain; till at length, the boat of that intrepid traveller having stuck fast at Ensy'mmo (probably identical with Ansóngo), the Tawárek of that neighborhood made another fierce and more successful attack, causing him an immense deal of trouble, and killing, as A'wáb asserted,

two of his Christian companions. He also gave me a full account of the iron hook with which the boat was provided against hippopotami and hostile canoes; and his statement altogether proved what an immense excitement the mysterious appearance of this European traveller, in his solitary boat, had caused among all the surrounding tribes.

The chief being very anxious to obtain some silver, I thought it best, in order to convince all the people that I had no dollars left (although I had saved about twenty for my journey to Háusa), to give him my silver knife and fork, besides some large silver rings which I had by me; and he was very glad to have obtained a sufficient quantity of this much-esteemed metal for adorning his beloved wife.

These Tawárek chiefs who had thus become well disposed toward me, through the interference of the sheikh, wrote an excellent letter of franchise for any Englishman visiting this country, thus holding out the first glimmer of hope of a peaceable intercourse.

*December* 19*th*. This was an important day — important to the Mohammedans as the 'Aíd e' subúwa, and celebrated by them with prayers and séddega or alms; and not unimportant for myself, for my relation to the townspeople had meanwhile assumed a more serious character. Sheikho (Séko) A'hmedu had threatened that, if the inhabitants of Timbúktu did not assist in driving me out of the town, he would cut off the supply of corn. This induced the Emír Kaúri to undertake a journey to the capital, in order to prevent the malicious intrigues of the Kádhi Weled F'aamme, who was about to embark for that place, from making matters worse.

'Alí, the son of the old Sheikh A'hmed, or Hámed, Weled 'Abéda, had come to Timbúktu; and, seeing that I was a great friend of the Sheikh el Bakáy, he had not come to pay his compliments to the latter, but had pitched his camp outside the town, and his people manifested their hostility toward me on several occasions. But, by a most providential dispensation, on the seventeenth the chief fell suddenly sick, and in the morning of the nineteenth he died. His death made an ex-

traordinary impression upon the people, as it was a well-known fact that it was his father who had killed the former Christian who had visited this place; and the more so, as it was generally believed that I was Major Laing's son.

It was the more important, as the report had been generally spread that, as I have observed before, the Welád Slímán, the principal and most noble section of the Berabísh, had sworn to kill me; and the people could not but think that there was some supernatural connection between the death of this man, at this place and at this period, and the murderous deed perpetrated by his father; and, on the whole, I cannot but think that this event exercised a salutary influence upon my final safety. The followers of the chief of the Berabísh were so frightened by this tragical event, that they came in great procession to the Sheikh el Bakáy, to beg his pardon for their neglect, and to obtain his blessing; nay, the old man himself, a short time afterward, sent word, that he would in no way interfere with my departure, but wished nothing better than that I might reach home in safety. The excitement of the people on account of my stay here thus settled down a little, and the party of the Fúlbe seemed quietly to await the result produced by the answer which the shiekh had forwarded to Hamda-Alláhi.

On the 21st December we again went in the afternoon to the tents. For the first time since my arrival in this town I rode my own stately charger, which, having remained so many months in the stable, feeding upon the nutritive grass of the by'rgu, had so completely recruited his strength that in my desperately weak state I was scarcely able to manage him. The desert presented a highly interesting spectacle. A considerable stream, formed by the river, poured its waters with great force into the valleys and depressions of this sandy region, and gave an appearance of truth to the fabulous statement of thirty-six rivers flowing through this tract. After a few hours' repose, I was able to keep up a long conversation with the sheikh in the evening, about Paradise and the divine character of the Kuran. This time our stay at the tents afforded more

opportunity than usual for interesting conversation, and bore altogether a more religious character, my protector being anxious to convince his friends and followers of the depth of the faith of the Christians; and I really lamented that circumstances did not allow me to enter so freely into the details of the creed of these people, and to make myself acquainted with all its characteristics, as I should have liked.

Part of the day the sheikh read and recited to his pupils chapters from the hadíth of Bokhári, while his young son repeated his lesson aloud from the Kurán, and in the evening several surát, or chapters, of the holy book were beautifully chanted by the pupils till a late hour of the night. There was nothing more charming to me than to hear these beautiful verses chanted by sonorous voices in this open desert country, round the evening fire, with nothing to disturb the sound, which softly reverberated from the slope of the sandy downs opposite. A Christian must have been a witness to such scenes in order to treat with justice the Mohammedans and their creed. Let us not forget that but for the worship of images and the quarrels about the most absurdly superstitious notions which distracted the Christian Church during the seventh century, there would have been no possibility of the establishment of a new creed based on the principles of Monotheism, and opposed in open hostility to Christianity. Let us also take into an account that the most disgusting feature attaching to the morals of Mohammedans has been introduced by the Mongolish tribes from Central Asia, and excited the most unqualified horror in the founder of the religion.

Peace and security seemed to prevail in this little encampment. In general the whole of this region to the north of the river is entirely free from beasts of prey, with the exception of jackals; but at present, together with the rising water, which had entirely changed the character of these districts, a lion had entered this desert tract, and one day killed three goats, and the following one two asses, one of which was remarkable for its great strength.

Remaining here a couple of days, on the evening of the 25th

we had again a long conversation, which was very characteristic of the different state of mind of the Christian in comparison with that of the Mohammedan. While speaking of European institutions, I informed my host of the manner in which we were accustomed to insure property by sea as well as on land, including even harvests, nay, even the lives of the people. He appeared greatly astonished, and was scarcely able to believe it; and while he could not deny that it was a good "debbára," or device for this world, he could not but think, as a pious Moslim, that such proceedings might endanger the safety of the soul in the next. However, he was delighted to see that Christians took such care for the welfare of the family which they might leave behind; and it was an easy task to prove to him that, as to making profits in any way whatever, his co-religionists, who think any kind of usury unlawful, were in no way better than the Christians; for, although the former do not openly take usury, they manage affairs so cleverly that they demand a much higher percentage than any honest Christian would accept. I had a fair opportunity of citing, as an instance, one of those merchants resident in Timbúktu, to whom I had been recommended by Mr. Dickson, and who had consented to advance me a small loan, under such conditions that he was to receive almost triple the sum which he was to lend.

*December* 25*th.* This day was also an important epoch for the inhabitants of the place, the water having entered the wells, which are situated round the southern and southwestern part of the town; and this period, which is said to occur only about every third year, obtains the same importance here as the "lélet e' nuktah" possesses with the inhabitants of Cairo; viz., the day or night on which the dike which separates the canal from the river is cut. The whole road from Kábara was now so inundated that it was no longer passable for asses, and small boats very nearly approached the town.

The commercial activity of the town had received some increase, owing to the arrival of a caravan from Tawát, with black Háusa manufactures, tobacco, and dates, so

that I was able to lay in a good store of this latter luxury, which is not always to be got here, but which, in the cold season, is not at all to be despised. Besides receiving a handsome present of dates from my noble Tawáti friend Mohammed el 'Aísh, I bought two measures (neffek) and a half of the kind called tin-áser for 4000 shells; for the "tin-akór," the most celebrated species of dates from Tawát, were not to be procured at this time. As for tobacco, I did not care a straw about it, and in this respect I might have been on the very best terms with my fanatical friends, the Fúlbe of Hamda-Alláhi, who offer such a determined opposition to smoking, upon religious principles.

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## CHAPTER XXVII.

Discussions of the Chiefs on Religion — Excursion to the River — Commerce of Timbúktu.

I HAD long cherished the hope that the beginning of 1854 would have found me far advanced on my homeward journey; but greatly disappointed in this expectation, I began the year with a fervent prayer for a safe return home in the course of it.

It had been arranged that we should make an excursion to Kábara, but our visit was put off from day to day, although I was extremely anxious to witness the features of the country, in the present high level of the river, at the place where I had first landed on my arrival. Thus I was reduced, for entertainment, to my intercourse with the sheikh, his kinsfolk, and followers; and as religious topics were always brought forward more prominently by my enemies, but especially in the learned letters which the emír of Hamda-Alláhi sent in reply to the sheikh, my conversation with the former now began to turn more and more upon religious subjects, such as the return of the Messiah, and on the meaning of the name "Paraclete" given in

the New Testament to the Holy Spirit, who was to descend upon the apostles, but which by the Mohammedans in more recent times is applied to Mohammed, whose coming, they say, is predicted in this instance by the Holy Book of the Christians.

One day when I visited the sheikh the two brothers were engaged in an animated discussion respecting the relation of 'Aísa (Jesus Christ) to Mohammed, and a warm dispute arose on the sophistical question whether it would be allowed, after the return of 'Aísa upon earth, to eat camel's flesh. The sheikh himself was anxious to prove how difficult it would be for themselves to change any part of their creed after the return of 'Aísa, owing to the difference which existed between the precepts of the two prophets, and thus intended to excuse the Christians for not embracing the creed of Mohammed after having once adopted that of 'Aísa. The two learned men, in the heat of their dispute, had overlooked the fact that the camel was a prohibited animal to the Jews, but not to the Christians, and hence that the return of 'Aísa would not interfere with their favorite repast. It was by cheerfully entering into these discussions that I obtained for myself the esteem even of those who were most anxious to extort from me as much as possible of my remaining property.

It was on the 4th of January that the first boat from Kábara approached close to the walls of the town of Timbúktu; and, as the immediate result of such a greater facility of intercourse, the supply of corn became more plentiful, and, in consequence, much cheaper: the s'aa of millet being sold for 40 shells, and the suníye, that is to say, more than two hundred pounds' weight, for 3000, or one Spanish dollar — certainly a very low rate; while I myself, as a foreigner and a stranger, had to pay 3750. The high state of the waters was naturally of the greatest interest to me; and, in order to satisfy my curiosity, the sheikh took me out on the 9th. Emerging from the town at about the middle of the western wall, where formerly the báb el gibleh was situated, we went first to the nearest creek of the river, but found here no boats; and then crossing

an extremely barren and stony level, reached another branch of the creek, where eight or ten smaller boats, without a covering or cabin, were lying; the innermost corner of this creek not being more than four or five hundred yards distant from the Great Mosque, or Jíngeré-bér. All the people asserted that the river, at Kábara, had now reached its highest level, and even affirmed that it had begun to fall here on the 7th; but, nevertheless, it became evident that the waters were still rising during the whole of the month, almost endangering the safety of the town.

In this place I think it well to give a short sketch of the commercial relations of Timbúktu, though it cannot make the slightest pretension to completeness, as I did not enter into such free intercourse with the natives as would have enabled me to combine a sufficient number of facts into a graphic view of the commercial life of the city. The people with whom I had most intercourse could offer little or no information on the subject. My situation in Kanó had been very different.

The great feature which distinguishes the market of Timbúktu from that of Kanó is the fact that Timbúktu is not at all a manufacturing town, while the emporium of Háusa fully deserves to be classed as such. Almost the whole life of the city is based upon foreign commerce, which, owing to the great northerly bend of the Niger, finds here the most favored spot for intercourse, while at the same time that splendid river enables the inhabitants to supply all their wants from without; for native corn is not raised here in sufficient quantities to feed even a very small proportion of the population, and almost all the victuals are imported by water-carriage from Sansándi and the neighborhood.

The only manufactures carried on in the city, as far as fell under my observation, are confined to the art of the blacksmith, and to a little leather-work. Some of these articles, such as provision or luggage bags, cushions, small leather pouches for tobacco, and gun-cloths, especially the leather bags, are very neat; but even these are mostly manufactured by Tawárek, and especially females, so that the industry of the city

is hardly of any account. It was formerly supposed that Timbúktu was distinguished on account of its weaving, and that the export of dyed shirts from hence was considerable; but this is entirely a mistake, almost the whole clothing of the natives themselves, especially that of the wealthier classes, being imported either from Kanó or from Sansándi, besides the calico imported from England. The export of the produce of Kanó, especially by way of A'rawán, extends to the very border of the Atlantic, where it comes into contact with the considerable import of Malabar cloth by way of St. Louis, or Ndér, on the Senegal, while the dyed shirts from Sansándi, which, as far as I had an opportunity of observing, seemed to be made of foreign or English calico, and not of native cotton, do not appear to be exported to a greater distance. These shirts are generally distinguished by their rich ornament of colored silk, and look very pretty; and I am sorry that I was obliged to give away as a present a specimen which I intended to bring home with me. The people of Timbúktu are very experienced in the art of adorning their clothing with a fine stitching of silk, but this is done on a very small scale, and even these shirts are only used at home. There is, however, a very considerable degree of industry exercised by the natives of some of the neighboring districts, especially Fermágha, who produce very excellent woollen blankets, and carpets of various colors, which form a most extensive article of consumption with the natives.

The foreign commerce has especially three great high roads: that along the river from the southwest (for lower down the river there is at present scarcely any commerce at all), which comprises the trade proceeding from various points; and two roads from the north, that from Morocco on the one hand, and that from Ghadámes on the other. In all this commerce gold forms the chief staple, although the whole amount of the precious metal exported from this city appears to be exceedingly small, if compared with a European standard. It probably does not exceed an average of £20,000 sterling per year.

The next article that forms one of the chief staples in Tim-

búktu, and in some respects even more so than gold, is salt, which, together with gold, formed articles of exchange all along the Niger from the most ancient times. It is brought from Taödénni, a place whose situation has been tolerably well established by M. Caillié's journey, and the mines of which have been worked, as we know from A'hmed Bábá, since the year 1596, when the former mines of Tegháza, situated some seventy miles farther to the north, were given up.

The gúro, or kóla nut, which constitutes one of the greatest luxuries of Negroland, is also a most important article of trade. Possessing this, the natives do not feel the want of coffee, which they might so easily cultivate to any extent, the coffee-plant seeming to be indigenous in many parts of Negroland.

The chief produce brought to the market of Timbúktu consists of rice and negro corn; but I am quite unable to state the quantities imported. Besides these articles, one of the chief products is vegetable butter, or mai-kadéña, which, besides being employed for lighting the dwellings, is used most extensively in cookery as a substitute for animal butter, at least by the poorer class of the inhabitants. Smaller articles, such as pepper, ginger, which is consumed in very great quantities, and sundry other articles, are imported. A small quantity of cotton is also brought into the market, not from Sansándi, I think, but rather from Jimbálla and some of the neighboring provinces, no cotton being cultivated in the neighborhood of the town: but the natives do not seem to practice much weaving at home, even for their own private use.

At the time of my visit, the caravan trade with Morocco, which is by far the most important, was almost interrupted by the feuds raging among the tribes along that road, especially between the E'rgebát and Tájakánt on the one side and the various sections of the Tájakánt on the other. This is the reason why in that year there were no large caravans at all, which in general arrive about the beginning of November, and leave in December or January.

With regard to European manufactures, the road from Morocco is still the most important for some articles, such as red

cloth, coarse coverings, sashes, looking-glasses, cutlery, tobacco; while calico especially, bleached as well as unbleached, is also imported by way of Ghadámes, and in such quantities of late that it has greatly excited the jealousy of the Morocco merchants. The inhabitants of Ghadámes are certainly the chief agents in spreading this manufacture over the whole northwestern part of Africa, and, in consequence, several of the wealthier Ghadámsi merchants employ agents here. The most respectable among the foreign merchants in Timbúktu is Táleb Mohammed, who exercises, at the same time, a very considerable political influence; and the wealthiest merchants from Morocco besides him, during the time of my stay, were El Méhedi, the astronomer, Múl'a 'Abd e' Salám, the nobleman, and my friend the Swéri; while among the Ghadámsi merchants, Mohammed ben Táleb, Snúsi ben Kyári, Mohammed Lebbe-Lebbe, Haj 'Alí ben Sháwa, and Mohammed Weled el Kádhi, were those most worth mentioning.

But to apply even to these first-rate merchants a European standard of wealth would be quite erroneous, the actual property of none of them exceeding probably 10,000 dollars, and even that being rather an exceptional case. Scarcely any of them transact business on a large scale, the greater part of them being merely agents for other merchants residing in Ghadámes, Swéra (Mogador), Merákesh (Morocco), and Fás.

The greater part of the European merchandise comes by way of Swéra, where several European merchants reside, and from this quarter proceeds especially the common red cloth, which, together with calico, forms one of the chief articles of European trade brought into the market. All the calico which I saw bore the name of one and the same Manchester firm, printed upon it in Arabic letters. But I am quite unable, either with respect to this article or any other, to give an account of the quantity brought into market. All the cutlery in Timbúktu is of English workmanship. Tea forms a standard article of consumption with the Arabs settled in and around the town; for the natives it is rather too expensive a luxury.

A feature which greatly distinguishes the market of Tim-

búktu from that of Kanó, is the almost entire absence of that miserable kind of silk, or rather refuse, "twáni" and "kundra," which forms the staple article in the market of Kanó. Other articles also of the delicate Nüremberg manufacture are entirely wanting in this market; such as the small round looking-glasses, called "lemm'a," which some time ago had almost a general currency in Kanó. The market of Timbúktu, therefore, though not so rich in quantity, surpasses the rival market of Kanó in the quality of the merchandise. Bernúses, or Arab cloaks, furnished with a hood, also seem to be disposed of here to a considerable extent, although they must form too costly a dress for most of the officers at the courts of the petty chiefs, in the reduced state of all the kingdoms hereabouts; and, at all events, they are much more rarely seen here than in the eastern part of Negroland. These bernúses, of course, are prepared by the Arabs and Moors in the north, but the cloth is of European manufacture. The calico imported constitutes a very important article. It is carried from here up the country as far as Sansándi, although in the latter place it comes into competition with the same article which is brought from the western and southwestern coasts.

Among the Arab merchandise tobacco forms a considerable article of consumption, especially that produced in Wádí Nún, and called, *par excellence*, "el warga," "the leaf," as it is not only smoked by the Arabs and natives in the country, as far as they are not exposed to the censure of the ruling race of the Fúlbe, but is even exported to Sansándi. I have already observed that tobacco constitutes a contraband article in all the towns where the Fúlbe of Hamda-Alláhi exercise dominion, and in Timbúktu especially, where one can only indulge in this luxury in a clandestine manner.

Tobacco, together with dates, forms also the chief article of import from Tawát, the species from that place being called "el wargat," the leaves indicating its inferior character to the first-rate article from Wádí Nún. Dates and tobacco form articles of trade among the people of Tawát, the poor tradesmen of that country possessing very little of themselves besides.

But the quantity of these articles imported has also been greatly overrated by those who have spoken of the commercial relations of these regions from that distance. At least I am sure that the whole of the time I was staying in the town only about twenty camel-loads of these two articles together were imported.

With regard to exports, they consisted, at the time of my stay in the place, of very little besides gold and a moderate quantity of gum and wax, while ivory and slaves, as far as I was able to ascertain, seemed not to be exported to any considerable amount. However, a tolerable proportion of the entire export from these regions proceeds by way of A′rwán, without touching at Timbúktu. At any rate, those gentlemen who estimate the annual export of slaves from Negroland to Morocco at about 4000 are certainly mistaken, although in this, as well as in other respects, the exceptional and anarchical state of the whole country at the time of my residence, and my own most critical situation, did not allow me to arrive at any positive results. Thus much is certain, that an immense field is here opened to European energy, to revive the trade which, under a stable government, formerly animated this quarter of the globe, and which might again flourish to great extent. For the situation of Timbúktu is of the highest commercial importance, lying as it does at the point where the great river of Western Africa, in a serpent-like winding, approaches most closely to that outlying and most extensive oasis of "the far West"—Mághreb el Aksa, of the Mohammedan world — I mean Tawát, which forms the natural medium between the commercial life of this fertile and populous region and the north; and whether it be Timbúktu, Waláta, or Ghánata, there will always be in this neighborhood a great commercial *entrepôt*, as long as mankind retain their tendency to international intercourse and exchange of produce.

## CHAPTER XXVIII.

The sheikh's views on religion — Attempts against the Doctor's safety — Friendly disposition of the sheikh — Political parties in Timbúktu — Sídi Mohammed — The sheikh's camp near Timbúktu — Remarks on commercial intercourse with Timbúktu.

Being enabled to collect a good deal of information, as far as my situation allowed, I did not choose to accompany the sheikh when he again went to the tents on the 24th of January. He promised that he would only stay a day or two, but he did not return until the 29th. On this occasion I took the liberty of reminding him that he was not over-scrupulous in keeping his word; but, in his amiable way, he evasively replied, "that if a person had only one fault, or 'aíb,' it was of no consequence."

[A great deal of the time passed in the desert camp by Dr. Barth and his friend, the sheikh, was spent in conversation. Some of the sheikh's views are curious. The following is a specimen.]

He was this day more communicative than usual, and sat a long time with myself and his pupils, delivering to us a lecture on the equal rank of the prophets, who, he said, had each of them one distinguishing quality, but that none of them ought to be preferred to the other. He dwelt particularly on the distinguished qualities of Moses, or Músa, who was a great favorite with him, although he was far from being friendly disposed toward the Jews, the spirit of Mohammed Ben 'Abd el Kerím el Maghíli, who hated that nation from the bottom of his heart, and preached the Jihád against it, having communicated itself to the Mohammedan inhabitants of this part of Negroland.

At another time my friend entered, without any prejudice,

into the subject of wine and pork, and he had not much to say against the argument with which I used to defend myself from attacks in this respect, viz., that while we believed religion to concern the soul and the dealings of men toward each other, we thought all that regarded food was left by the Creator to man himself; but, of course, he would have been greatly shocked if he had beheld the scenes exhibited every evening by gin-palaces in the midst of the very acme of European civilization.

At other times again, taking out of his small library the Arabic version of Hippocrates, which he valued extremely, he was very anxious for information as to the identity of the plants mentioned by the Arab authors. This volume of Hippocrates had been a present from Captain Clapperton to Sultan Bello of Sókoto, from whom my friend had received it, among other articles, as an acknowledgment of his learning. I may assert, with full confidence, that those few books taken by the gallant Scotch captain into Central Africa have had a greater effect in reconciling the men of authority in Africa to the character of Europeans than the most costly present ever made to them; and I hope, therefore, that gifts like these may not be looked upon grudgingly by people who would otherwise object to do anything which might seem to favor Mohammedanism.

*Timbúktu, February 16th.* Although I had enjoyed a greater degree of security for some time, my situation, after a short respite, soon assumed again a serious character, and hostile elements were gathering from different quarters; for, while a very important mission was just approaching from Hamda-Alláhi, on the 25th we received the news that 'Abidín, that member of the family of Mukhtár who followed a policy entirely opposite to that of El Bakáy, was reported to be near, and he was conducted into the town by Hammádi with considerable display.

In the morning of the following day, just as the atmosphere changed from bright to gloomy, a powerful Púllo officer, and a prince of the blood, Hámedu, a son of Mohammed Lebbo,

entered the town with a numerous troop on horseback and on foot, among whom were ten musketeers. They marched past my house on purpose, although the direct road from Kábara did not lead that way, in order to frighten me, while I, with the intention of showing them that they had entirely failed in their object, opened the door of my house, displaying in the hall all my fire-arms, and my people close at hand ready to use them.

But my little band became more and more reduced, for, when the chief of my followers, the Méjebrí, 'Alí el A'gereu, saw a fresh storm gathering against me, he disclaimed any farther obligation toward me, notwithstanding the salary which he continued to receive. But, as I had given him up long before, this farther manifestation of his faithlessness did not make a great impression upon me. On the other hand, I had attached to myself, by the present which I had bestowed upon him, the eldest brother of the family upon whose good-will, under the present circumstances, a great deal depended.

Thus approached the 27th of February, when the real character of the mission from Hamda-Alláhi, of which Hámedu had only been the forerunner, was disclosed. Having been in a lazy and rather melancholy mood the whole day, I was reclining on my simple couch in the evening, when I was surprised by the sheikh's nephew entering abruptly, and, although betraying by his sad and serious countenance that something very grave oppressed his mind, yet squatting silently down without being able or feeling inclined to say a word. Scarcely had he left me, when my Tawáti friend, Mohammed el 'Aísh, who continued to show me a great deal of kindness and sympathy, called me into the sheikh's presence. I was ushered in with great precaution through the hall and up the narrow winding staircase, and found the three brothers in the terrace-room engaged in serious consultation.

After I had taken my seat they informed me that the Fullán were making a last attempt against my safety, and that, together with Kaúri, the former emír, a distinguished nobleman of the name of Mohammed el Férreji, had arrived in Kábara

accompanied by a troop of about one hundred men, and that the latter messenger had addressed to my host two letters of very different character and tenor, one being full of manifestations of friendship, and the other couched in most threatening terms, to the effect that something serious would happen if he did not send me off before he (Férreji) entered the town. But no active course of proceedings was resolved upon, although Mohammed, who was the most energetic of the three, proposed that we should mount on horseback and pass the night on the road to Kábara, partly in order to prevent the inhabitants of the town from joining the Fullán in that place, in conformity with the order which they had received, partly in order to intercept anything that might come from the hostile camp. While proposing this energetic measure, the chief of A'zawád was playing with his four-barrelled musket, which, even under these momentous circumstances, excited my curiosity almost more than anything else, as I had never seen anything like it in Europe. It was of excellent workmanship, but I could not say of what peculiar character, as it did not bear any distinct mark of nationality. Of course I suspected, when I first beheld it, that it had belonged to the late unfortunate Major Laing, but I was distinctly assured by all the people, though I would scarcely believe it, that this was not the case, and that it had been purchased from American traders at Portendik. At present it was rather short, the uppermost part having been taken off in consequence of an accident; but it was, nevertheless, a very useful weapon, and not at all heavy. It was made for flints, there being only two cocks, but a cannon to each barrel.

Having discussed various proposals with regard to my safety, with characteristic slowness, and coupling serious observations with various amusing stories, Sídi Mohammed sat down and wrote a formal protest in my favor, and sent it to the Emír Kaúri.

A messenger from the emír having arrived, the sheikh himself made a long speech, telling him under what circumstances I had reached this place, and that now I had once placed my-

self under his protection, there was nothing but honorable peace, both for himself and his guest, or war. Upon this the messenger observed, in an ironical manner, that, El Férreji (who had been sent to compromise with the sheikh) being a learned man like himself, everything would end well; meaning that they would know, if not able to succeed by force, how to vanquish him with arguments taken from their creed. Another protest having been sent to Táleb Mohammed, who, although nothing but a merchant, exercised a great political influence in this anarchical place, I went home to refresh myself with a cup of tea, and then made preparations for the eventual defence of my house, and for hiding the more valuable of my effects: after which I returned to the residence of El Bakáy about midnight, and found the holy man himself, armed with a double-barrelled gun, about to enter the great segífa, or parlor, which he had allotted to his faithful and discreet storekeeper, Táleb el Wáfi. Here we sat down; and soon about forty men gathered round us, armed partly with spears and partly with muskets, when, after a great deal of useless talk as to what was to be done, it was agreed upon to send one messenger to the Tawárek chiefs, Rummán and Mushtába, whose acquaintance I had made on a former occasion, and who at present were encamped in Mushérrek.

Having thus sat up the whole night, full of curious reflections on these tragi-comic scenes, I returned to my quarters about five o'clock in the morning, and endeavored to raise my exhausted spirits by means of some coffee. However, our precautions, insufficient as they might seem to a European, had had their full effect, and the Púllo messenger did not dare to enter the town before noon, and even then, although joined by about sixty horsemen from the townspeople, was afraid to traverse our warlike quarter.

Political circumstances were not quite so favorable as my host wanted to represent them to me; as, like many other people, he was not very particular, when endeavoring to obtain a good object, about saying things that were not quite true; and the following day, when Férreji paid a visit to the sheikh,

he designated me as a war-chief and a "meházebi," or free-booter, who ought not to be allowed to remain any longer in the town. Altogether it was fortunate that El Bakáy had provided for the worst by sending for the Kel-úlli, who arrived in the course of the afternoon, about sixty strong, with great military demonstrations and beating of shields. It was on this occasion that I first made the acquaintance of this warlike tribe, who, notwithstanding their degraded position as Imghád, have made themselves conspicuous by totally annihilating the formerly powerful tribe of the I'gelád and I'medídderen, who in former times ruled over Timbúktu and were hostile to the Kunta. The Kel-úlli are distinguished among all the tribes of the neighborhood by three qualities which, to the European, would scarcely seem possible to be united in the same person, but which are not unfrequently found combined in the Arab tribes, viz., "réjela," or valor; "sírge," or thievishness; and "dhiyáfa," or generous hospitality.

[There were two political parties in Timbúktu, as well as in other countries, and one of them made use of Dr. Barth's residence there, as a pretext for opposing and annoying the sheikh. This led to perpetual disputes and quarrels, in which he was ostensibly, but the power of the sheikh, his protector, was really, the object of attack. The opposers of the sheikh often threatened the Doctor's life, unless he should leave the city; but they appear to have taken care not to kill him. This state of things lasted many months, the sheikh always promising the Doctor to escort him out of his dominions, and always disappointing him. The following entry in the Doctor's diary, refers to one of the frequent occasions on which he was residing with the sheikh, at the camp in the desert near Timbúktu.]

*March 24th.* This was the day on which the sheikh had promised to bring out my luggage, but, to my great disappointment, he came empty-handed; and he had much to say about the expected arrival of Alkúttabu, the chief Somki, it was stated, having been called from A'ribínda to meet his liege lord at Ghérgo (pronounced Rérgo) with fifteen boats. But,

as the sequel showed, this was a mere stratagem of that crafty chief, who intended to make an unexpected foray upon his foes the Kél-hekíkan, in which enterprise he was perfectly successful, killing about a dozen of that already greatly reduced tribe. While the sheikh boasted of the innumerable host which his friend the Tárki chief carried with him, I was greatly amused at learning from an Urághen, who had come to pay us a visit, that Alkúttabu had only 300 fighting men with him at the time. I also observed with a certain degree of satisfaction that my kindly host became aware of what I was subjected to day by day; for, while on a visit to my tent, one of the flies that tormented me stung him so severely as to draw blood; and I then showed him my poor horse, which was suffering dreadfully, although at times we lighted a small fire in order to afford him some relief.

During my stay here, I had become better acquainted with the sheikh's brother, Sídi Mohammed, and I had convinced myself that he was a straightforward man, although certainly not very friendly disposed toward Christians in general. Next morning, therefore, when he and the sheikh were consulting together, I complained bitterly of their breaking their word so repeatedly and putting off my departure so continually. They then endeavored to soothe my disappointment, and, as they were going into the town, wanted me to go along with them, but I declined. In consequence of this remonstrance they sent me from the town the sheikh's nephew, who had been ill for several days, to bear me company and to take care of me, and this was a great treat in my solitary situation, as I had nobody to speak to. However, new difficulties appeared to arise with regard to my departure, and, during the next few days, I received several curious messages, the real purport of which I was quite at a loss to understand. But El Bakáy at length promised that I should only have to wait two days longer, when he would go with me himself; but it was not till the very last day in March that he returned from the town to the camp, and, although he at length brought my luggage with him, my real departure was even then still far remote.

*Camp of the Sheikh el Bakáy, near Timbúktu, Residence of the Sheikh and Dr Barth.*

During this time I had especially to contend against the intrigues of my head man 'Alí el A'geren, who seemed to find the stay in Timbúktu at my expense (where he himself was quite safe and well off, and could do what he liked) quite pleasant and comfortable. He was therefore in no hurry to leave, but rather tried every means in his power to counteract my endeavors for a speedy departure. An extraordinary degree of patience was therefore necessary on my part, and I was obliged to seek relief from the tediousness of my stay here in every little circumstance that broke the uniform tenor of my monotonous life.

A great source of entertainment to me were the young sons of my protector, Bábá A'hmed and Zén el 'Abidín, who were continually wrangling about all sorts of articles, whether they belonged to the one or the other; my tent and my horse forming the chief objects of their childish dispute. And I was greatly amused, at times, at the younger boy placing himself at the entrance of my tent, and protesting that it was Zén el 'Abidín's tent, and preventing his elder brother from approaching it. The plate opposite gives a fair idea of the whole life of this desert camp, with its liberty, its cheerfulness, and its tediousness.

Our camp also afforded me at times some other amusement; for although the Tawárek had returned to their usual seats, the Ǯwanín were still kept back here by their fear of the Kél-hekíkan, and they occasionally got up a national play, which caused a little diversion. But I did not like these people nearly so well as the wild I'móshagh; for, having become degraded by being subjected to the caprices of stronger tribes, they have almost entirely lost that independent spirit which is so prepossessing in the son of the desert, even though he be the greatest ruffian.

One afternoon they collected round my tent and began boasting of what they had done for me. They told me that the Fullán had written to their sheikh, Weled 'Abéda, accusing the Gwanín that, in the night when El Bakáy was bringing me back to Timbúktu, they had been fighting against them, and,

among other mischief, had killed a horse belonging to them, and that their chief had answered that his people had done well in defending me, and that nobody should hurt me after I had once succeeded in placing myself under the sheikh's protection. And this, be it remembered, was the self-same chief who had murdered Major Laing; and one or the other of these very Gwanín, with whom I had dealings every day, were perhaps implicated in that very murder. I was thus led to inquire of these people whether there were no papers remaining of that unfortunate traveller, and was told that they were all scattered or made away with; but I learned, to my great surprise, that there were letters for myself in A'zawád, which had arrived from the east; and although these people were not able, or did not feel inclined, to give me full information about this matter, which was of so much interest to myself, the fact proved afterward to be quite true; but it was a long time before I got possession of those letters.

Altogether my situation required an extraordinary amount of forbearance, for A'lawáte* also troubled me again with his begging propensities. But when he came himself to take leave of me, I told him the time for presents was now past; whereupon he said, that he was aware that if I wanted to give I gave, meaning that it was only the want of good will that made me not comply with his wish. I assured him that I had given him a great many presents against my own inclination. He owned that he had driven a rather hard bargain with me, but, when he wanted me to acknowledge at least that he had done me no personal harm, I told him that the reason was rather his want of power than his want of inclination, and that, although I had nothing to object to him in other respects, I should not like to trust myself in his hands alone in the wilderness.

The difficulties which a place like Timbúktu presents to a free commercial intercourse with Europeans are very great. For while the remarkable situation of the town, at the edge of the

[* A'lawáte was the sheikh's brother who had received Dr. Barth on his arrival. He belonged to the political party opposed to the sheikh, and was secretly opposed to the Doctor. — Ed.]

desert and on the border of various races, in the present degenerated condition of the native kingdoms, makes a strong government very difficult, nay, almost impossible, its distance from either the west coast or the mouth of the Niger is very considerable. But, on the other hand, the great importance of its situation at the northern curve or elbow of that majestic river, which, in an immense sweep encompasses the whole southern half of North-Central Africa, including countries densely populated and of the greatest productive capabilities, renders it most desirable to open it to European commerce, while the river itself affords immense facilities for such a purpose. For, although the town is nearer to the French settlements in Algeria on the one side, and those on the Senegal on the other, yet it is separated from the former by a tract of frightful desert, while between it and the Senegal lies an elevated tract of country, nay, along the nearest road a mountain chain extends of tolerable height. Farther: we have here a family which, long before the French commenced their conquest of Algeria, exhibited their friendly feelings toward the English in an unquestionable manner, and at the present moment the most distinguished member of this family is most anxious to open free intercourse with the English. Even in the event of the greatest success of the French policy in Africa, they will never effect the conquest of this region. On the other hand, if a liberal government were secured to Timbúktu, an immense field might be opened to European commerce, and thus the whole of this part of the world might again be subjected to a wholesome organization.

## CHAPTER XXIX.

Dr. Barth attempts to leave Timbúktu—The reasons for his return—Incidents on the return—Apprehensions of a French invasion from Algeria —The Tawárek camp at Amelelle—Return to the neighborhood of Timbúktu.

I HAD been obliged to leave the town on the 17th of March, in consequence of the brothers of the sheikh having deemed such a step essential for the security of the town, and advantageous to their own personal interest. Since that time my departure had been earnestly discussed almost daily, but, nevertheless, amid infinite delays and procrastinations, the 19th of April had arrived before we at length set out from our encampment, situated at the head of the remarkable and highly-indented creek of Bóse-bángo.

Notwithstanding the importance of the day, my excellent friend the Sheikh el Bakáy could not even then overcome his habitual custom of taking matters easy. He slept till a late hour in the morning, while his pupils were disputing with the owners of the camels which had been hired for the journey, and who would not stir. At length my friend got up, and our sluggish caravan left the encampment. There were, besides our own camels, a good many asses belonging to the Gwanín, and laden with cotton strips. It was past eleven o'clock, and the sun had already become very troublesome, when we left the camp. The chief was so extremely fond of his wife and children, that it was an affair of some importance to take leave of them. I myself had become sincerely attached to his little boys, especially the youngest one, Zén el 'Abidín, who, I am led to hope, will remember his friend 'Abd el Kerím; but, notwithstanding my discontent at my protector's want of energy, I could not be angry with him, and, when he asked me whether

he had now deceived me or kept his word, I could not but praise his conduct, although I told him that I must first see the end of it. He smiled, and turning to his companion, the old Haiballah (Habíb Allah), who had come from A'zawád to spend some time in his company, asked him whether I was not too mistrustful; but the event unluckily proved that I was not.

The vegetation in the neighborhood of Bose-bángo is extremely rich, but, as we advanced, gradually the trees ceased, with the exception of the kálgo, the bush so often mentioned by me in Háusa, and which here begins to be very common. I was greatly disappointed in my expectation of making a good day's march, for, after proceeding a little more than three miles, I saw my tent, which had gone in advance, pitched in the neighborhood of an encampment of Arabs belonging to the tribe of the Ergágeda. Here we staid the remainder of the day, enjoying the hospitality of these people, who had to pay dearly for the honor of such a visit; for the pupils of my friend, who had capital appetites, required a great deal of substantial nourishment to satisfy their cravings, and, besides a dozen dishes of rice, and a great quantity of milk, two oxen had to be slaughtered by our hosts. These Arabs, who formed here an encampment of about twenty-five spacious tents, made of sheepskins or fárrwel, have no camels, and possess only a few cows, their principal herds being sheep and goats, besides a large number of asses. They have been settled in this district, near the river, since the time when Sídi Mukhtár, the elder brother of El Bakáy, established himself in Timbúktu, that is to say, in the year 1832.

Although I should have liked much better to have made at once a fair start on our journey, I was glad that we had at least set out at all, and, lying down in the shade of a small kálgo-tree, I indulged in the hope that in a period of from forty to fifty days I might reach Sókoto; but I had no idea of the unfavorable circumstances which were gathering to frustrate my hopes.

[The march lasted only till the 30th of April, when, for po-

litical reasons, the sheikh decided to return to the immediate neighborhood of Timbúktu.]

The endeavor to preserve the unity of the whole tribe of the Awelímmiden, which my protector had sincerely at heart, and thus to keep up the friendly relation of this tribe with that of the Igwádaren, induced him to postpone my interests and to return once more westward, in order to exert his utmost to settle this serious affair; for the very tribe of the Igwádaren, from the first, when they were settled in A'zawád, had been the protectors of the Kunta, the tribe to which the family of Mukhtár belonged, and had especially defended them against the hostilities of the I'gelád, by whose subjection the former had founded their power. El Bakáy could not but see with the most heartfelt sorrow his former supporters likely to become the auxiliaries of his enemies; and his brother, Sídi Mohammed, whom he had left to fill his place in Timbúktu during his absence, had sent an express messenger from the town, requesting him to come, in order that he might consult with him upon the state of affairs.

As for myself, being anxious about my own interest, and fearing even for my life, which I was convinced was seriously threatened by another return toward Timbúktu, I employed every means in my power to persuade my friend to allow me to pursue my journey eastward, in the company of those pupils and followers of his whom he had promised to send along with me. But he would not consent to this, and I felt extremely dejected at the time, and could not but regard this retrograde journey to Timbúktu as a most unfortunate event.

Just at this time the news was brought, by way of Ghadámes, of the French having completely vanquished the Shaamba, and made an expedition to Wárgelá and Metlíli. In consequence of this report, the fear of the progress of these foreign and hated intruders into the interior of these regions became very general, and caused suspicion to attach to me, as these people could not but think that my journey to their country had some connection with the expedition of the French. But, taking all the circumstances into account, I found afterward

that my friend was altogether right in postponing for the time my journey eastward.

*Sunday, April 30th.* This was the sad day when, with the most gloomy forebodings, I began my return-journey toward the west. There had been the most evident signs of the approach of the rainy season, which, in the zone farther to the south, had already set in, when, after so many reiterated delays, I was obliged once more to return toward that very place which I had felt so happy in having at length left behind me.

My protector was well aware of the state of my feelings, and, while the people were loading the camels, he came to me, and once more excused himself on account of this retrograde movement. There were, besides myself, some Arabs of the tribe of Gwanín, who wanted to go on to Ghérgo in order to buy tobacco, and who now likewise were obliged to return once more to the westward, as they had no guarantee for their security in making the journey alone.

*Friday, May 5th.* Although I had been promised that we should certainly not pass this place on our return westward, nevertheless, in the morning the order was suddenly given to decamp; and on we went, A'khbi in the van and we in the rear, passing many small temporary encampments of the Igwádaren, who were exiling themselves from their own country. Having thus made a short march of about four miles, through a country now rising in sandy downs, covered with siwák and dúm bush, at other times spreading out in low swampy meadow-grounds, and leaving I'ndikuway on our left, we encamped again in the midst of a swamp, at a short distance from the bank of the river. Fortunately, there was some rising ground, opening a fine view over the river, which here formed an arm of about 600 yards in breadth, while the opposite shore of A'ribínda exhibited a very pleasant background. Cautiously I pitched my tent as high as possible, with the door looking toward the river, in order to console myself with the aspect of the stream. A beautiful jéja or caoutchouc tree, here called énderen, which I scarcely remember to have seen anywhere

else in the whole of this district, gave life and animation to the encampment. A few miles toward the west, the high sandy downs of U'le Tehárge formed also an object of great interest.

It was extremely fortunate that the ground of this encampment did not present such a uniform level as in our last day's ámazágh, for in the afternoon we were visited by a violent tempest, which threw back the fence that we had erected around our camping-ground upon ourselves and our horses, and threatened to tear the tent to pieces: then, having made the round of the whole horizon, it returned once more from the north and discharged itself in a terrific shower, which lasted more than two hours, and changed the whole of the lower part of the plain into a large lake.

This thunder-storm afforded evident proofs of the full power of the rainy season; and as I had not yet even begun my long journey eastward, through districts so full of large rivers and swampy valleys, my feelings may be more easily imagined than described. I felt very dissatisfied with the Sheikh el Bakáy, and he, on his part, was well aware of it. His own trustworthy and amiable character inspired me with confidence that I should at length get safely out of all my trouble; but an immense amount of Job-like patience was required, for we staid in this encampment the five following days.

But we had a little intercourse with some remarkable persons which gave me some occupation. The most interesting of the passers-by were three noble ladies of the tribe of the Kél-hekíkan, well mounted on camels in an open cage, or jakhfa, of rather simple structure, with the exception of the rich ornament on the head of the animal, as is represented in the accompanying wood-cut. But the ladies themselves afforded an interesting sight, being well formed, of rather full proportions, though very plainly dressed. Then the whole of the Igwádaren, male and female, passed by close to my tent. There were, besides, the Kél-terárart and the Kél-tamuláit, or, as the Arabs called them, A'hel e' Sául; and I had a long conversation with a troop of eight horsemen of the latter, who, in the evening, came to my tent in order to pay their respects

A Lady Traveller.

to me. I reciprocated fully their protestations of friendship, and requested one of the two kinsmen of the chief Sául, who were among this troop, to accompany me on my journey eastward, promising to see him safe to Mekka. But, although he greatly valued my offer, he was afraid of the Aréwan or Kélgerés, and of the inhabitants of A'ïr.

There was a great congregation of different chiefs with the Sheikh el Bakáy, and he flattered himself that he had made peace between inveterate enemies, such as E' Téni and Wóghdugu; but the sequel showed that he was greatly mistaken, for these petty tribes cannot remain quiet for a moment. Great numbers of the Shémman-A'mmas were hovering round us, all of them begging for food. But my spirits were too much imbittered to exercise great hospitality from the small stock of my provisions which were fast dwindling away. Indeed, the stores which I had laid in, in the hope that they would last me until I reached Say, were almost consumed, and I was very glad to obtain a small supply of milk, which I usually bought with looking-glasses, or rather rewarded the gifts of the people by the acknowledgment of such a present. But these people were really very miserably off, and almost in a starving condition, all their property having been taken from them. They informed me that the Igwádaren had plundered twelve villages

along the Eghírrëu, among others those of Bámba, E'gedesh, Aslíman, and Zómgoy.

The river was enlivened the whole day long with boats going up and down, and some of the people asserted that these boats belonged to the Fúlbe, who were looking out for an opportunity to strike a blow. The whole world seemed to be in a state of revolution. The news from the north of the advance of the French, the particulars of which, of course, could not but become greatly exaggerated, as the report was carried from tribe to tribe, excited my friend greatly, and the several letters, written by the people of Tawát who were resident in Timbúktu, having reference to the same event, with which the messenger whom he had sent to that place returned, did not fail to increase his anxiety.

All these people seemed to be inspired with the same fear, that the French might without any farther delay march from el Goléa, which they were said to have occupied, upon Timbúktu, or at least upon Tawát. On the whole it was very fortunate, indeed, that I was not in the town at this juncture, as in the first excitement these very people from Tawát, who previously had taken me under their especial protection, and defended me repeatedly, would have contributed to my ruin, as, from their general prejudice against a Christian, they lost all distinction between English and French, and represented me as a spy whose proceedings were connected with that expedition from the north.

They now urgently requested the sheikh to write a letter to the whole community of Tawát, and to stimulate them to make an attack upon Wárgelá conjointly with the Hogár and A'zgar; but I did all in my power to prevent him from acceding to such a proposal, although he thought that I was greatly underrating the military strength of the people of Tawát. However, although I succeeded in preventing such a bold stroke of policy, I could not prevent his writing a letter to the French, in which he interdicted them from penetrating farther into the interior, or entering the desert, under any pretext whatever, except as single travellers. He also wanted me to

write immediately to Tripoli, to request that an Englishman should go as consul to Tawát; but I told him that this was not so easily done, and that he must first be able to offer full guarantee that the agent should be respected.

In my opinion it would be better if the French would leave the inhabitants of Tawát to themselves, merely obliging them to respect Europeans, and keep open the road to the interior; but although at that time I was not fully aware of the intimate alliance which had been entered into between the French and the English, I was persuaded that the latter neither could nor would protect the people of Tawát against any aggressive policy of the French, except by peaceable means, as Tawát is pre-eminently situated within the range of their own commerce. If both the English and the French could agree on a certain line of policy with regard to the tribes of the interior, those extensive regions might, I think, be easily opened to peaceful intercourse. Be this as it may, under the pressure of circumstances, I found myself obliged to affix my name to the letter written by the sheikh, as having been presented at the time, and candor imposed upon me the duty of not signing a wrong name.

All this excitement, which was disagreeable enough, had, however, one great advantage for me, as I was now informed that letters had reached my address, and that I should have them; but I was astonished to hear that these letters had arrived in A'zawád some months previously. I expostulated very strongly with my friend upon this circumstance, telling him that if they wanted friendship and "imána," or security of intercourse with us, they ought to be far more strict in observing the conditions consequent upon such a relation. I then received the promise that I should have the letters in a few days.

*Wednesday, May 10th.* Our hosts the Kél-gógi removed their encampment, and we followed them, although my protector had repeatedly assured me that in our retrograde movement we should certainly not have to pass the fine caoutchouc-tree that adorned our encampment. Leaving the high sandy

downs of U'le-Tehárge, on the banks of the river, we kept around the extensive swampy meadow-ground which spreads out behind them, several small encampments of the wandering Tawárek enlivening the green border of the swamp. Crossing, then, some rising ground beyond the reach of the wide expanse of shallow backwaters connected with the river, we came to the well-known creek of Amalélle, and followed its northerly shore till we reached its source or head, where our friend A'khbi had taken up his encampment in the midst of a swampy meadow-ground, which afforded rich pasture to his numerous herds of cattle; for, as I have had occasion repeatedly to state, the Tawárek think nothing of encamping in the midst of a swamp.

As for ourselves, we were obliged to look out for some better-protected and drier spot, and therefore ascended the sandy downs, which rise to a considerable elevation, and are well adorned with talha-trees and siwák, or *Capparis sodata*. Having pitched my tent in the midst of an old fence, or zeríba, I stretched myself out in the cool shade, and, forgetting for a moment the unpleasant character of my situation, enjoyed the interesting scenery of the landscape, which was highly characteristic of the labyrinth of backwaters and creeks which are connected with this large river of Western Central Africa.

At the foot of the downs was the encampment of our friends the Tawárek, with its larger and smaller leathern tents, some of them open and presenting the interior of these simple movable dwellings; beyond, the swampy creek, enlivened by a numerous herd of cattle half immersed in the water; then a dense border of vegetation, and beyond in the distance, the white sandy downs of Ernésse, with a small strip of the river. I made a sketch of this pleasant and animated locality, which is represented in the plate opposite. The scenery was particularly beautiful in the moonlight when I ascended the ridge of the downs, which rise to about 150 feet in height. In the evening I received a little milk from the wife of one of the chiefs of the Kél-gógi of the name of Lámmege, who was a

good-looking woman, and to whom I made a present of a looking-glass and a few needles in return. The Tawárek, while they are fond of their wives, and almost entirely abstain from polygamy, are not at all jealous; and the degree of liberty which the women enjoy is astonishing; but, according to all that I have heard, instances of faithlessness are very rare among the nobler tribes. Among the degraded sections, however, and especially among the Kél e' Súk, female chastity appears to be less highly esteemed, as we find to be the case also among many Berber tribes at the time when El Bekrí wrote his interesting account of Africa.

Meanwhile my good and benevolent protector was in a most unpleasant dilemma, between his regard for his own interest and his respect for myself. At length, after mature consideration, the sheikh had decided that I, together with the greater part of his followers, should go to Ernésse, there to await his return, while he himself intended to approach still nearer to Timbúktu, although he affirmed that he would not enter the town under any condition.

Thus we separated the next morning, and I took leave of the friends whom I had made among the tribe of the Igwádaren. These people were leaving their former homes and their former allies, in order to seek new dwelling-places and new friends.

[The camp was soon removed from Ernésse to the high sandy downs of U'le-Tehárge, where the party waited for the return of the sheikh from his old camp near Timbúktu.]

From our former encampment in Ernésse I had sent my servant, Mohammed el Gatróni, into the town in order to procure me a supply of the most necessary provisions, as my former stock was entirely consumed; and it was fortunate, on this account, that I had saved 5000 shells, which I was able to give him for this purpose. He now joined us again in this place on the 14th, and, of course, every one hastened to learn what news he had brought from the town and from the camp of the sheikh. He had arrived in Timbúktu a little before sunset, and, having finished without delay his purchases of

the articles wanted by me, immediately hurried away to the camp of my protector; for, as soon as the news of the arrival of my servant had got abroad in the town in conjunction with the return of the sheikh to his camp, the utmost excitement prevailed among the townspeople, who fancied that I myself was returning, and, in consequence, the alarm-drum was beaten. My servant also informed me that the Tawátíye themselves were greatly excited against me, as if I had had anything to do with the proceedings of the French against Wárgelá; and he assured me that, if I had still been in the town, they would have been the first to have threatened my life. He had only slept one night in the camp, and then left early the following morning, and therefore knew nothing about our protector's coming, but he confirmed the fact that there were letters for me. Fortunately, on returning, he had been informed that we had changed our camping-ground, and finding a guide, he had been able to join us without delay. The suníye of negro-millet fetched at the time, in the market of Timbúktu, 4500; a large block of salt of about 60 lb. weight, 5000; and kóla nuts, from 80 to 100 shells each. With my limited supply of means it was fortunate that I never became accustomed to the latter luxury.

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## CHAPTER XXX.

Final departure from Timbúktu—Letters from England—Ghérgo—The family of the Sheikh—Gógó.

*Wednesday, May 17th.* About noon the whole encampment was thrown into a state of the greatest excitement by the arrival of two of the sheikh's followers, who informed us that our friend had not only left the camp, but had even passed us, keeping along the northern border of the swamp which stretched behind our camping-ground. All was joy and excitement, and in an instant my tent was struck and my luggage

arranged on the backs of the camels. But we had to take a very roundabout way to get out of this place, surrounded and insulated as it was by deep swamps. We had just marched three hours when we found ourselves opposite our encampment on the downs, separated from them by the swampy ground of about half a mile in extent.

Uncertain as to the direction which our friend had taken, we now began to rove about, here and there, in search of him. Leaving then behind us the low downs, we entered again low swampy ground, and at length, after having traversed a thickly-wooded district, ascertained the spot whither the sheikh had betaken himself, which was at a place called A′kale, the eminence on the bank of the river being called E′m-aláwen. But, when we at length reached it, we found the holy man sleeping in the shade of a siwák, or *Capparis*, and the noise of our horses, as we came galloping along, was not sufficient to awaken him from his deep slumber. Such was the mild and inoffensive character of this man, in the midst of these warlike and lawless hordes.

Waiting till my protector should rise from his peaceful slumber, I sat down in the shade of a rich siwák, enjoying the faint prospect of my journey home, now opening before me.

At length my friend awoke, and I went to him. He received me a gentle smile, telling me that he was now ready to conduct me on my journey without any farther delay or obstruction, and handing me at the same time a parcel of letters and papers. There were copies of two letters from Lord John Russell, of the 19th February, 1853; one from Lord Clarendon, of the 24th of the same month; a letter from Chevalier Bunsen; another from Colonel Hermann; and two from her majesty's agent in Fezzán. There were no other letters, either from home or from any of my friends; but there were, besides, ten Galignanis, and a number of the Athenæum, of the 19th March, 1853.

I can scarcely describe the intense delight I felt at hearing again from Europe, but still more satisfactory to me was the general letter of Lord John Russell, which expressed the warm-

est interest in my proceedings. The other letters chiefly concerned the sending out of Dr. Vogel and his companions, which opened to me the prospect of finding some European society in Bórnu, if I should succeed in reaching my African head-quarters in safety. But of the expedition to the Tsadda or Bénuwé, which had started for its destination some time previously to the date of my receiving these letters, I obtained no intimation by this opportunity; and, indeed, did not obtain the slightest hint of that undertaking, of which I myself was to form a part, till December, when it had already returned to England.

*Thursday, May 18th.* It was with a very pleasant feeling that I at length found myself in the company of my noble host, again pursuing my journey eastward; and I enjoyed the peculiar features of the country with tolerable ease and comfort. The varied composition of our troop, among whom there were several well-disposed friends, afforded also much relief.

*Saturday, May 20th.* We were to start at a very early hour, but the difficulty of making out the right path among these numerous swamps and creeks kept us back till all our companions were ready. We then had to turn round a very difficult swamp, which had now begun to dry up, and where we observed the first traces of the wild hog that I had hitherto seen along this part of the Niger. After we had left this swamp behind us, the river exhibited its truly magnificent character, and we proceeded close along the border of its limpid waters, on a beautiful sandy beach, our left being shut in by high sandy downs, richly clad with dúm palms and tagelálet.

It was here, for the first time, that I observed the traces of the zangway. This animal appears to be quite distinct from the crocodile, and perhaps resembles the American iguana. It is much smaller than the crocodile; and its footprint indicated a much broader foot, the toes being apparently connected by a continuous membrane. Unfortunately I never obtained a sight of the animal itself, but only observed its footprints in the sand: it attains, as it seems, only to the length of from six to eight feet.

[On the 21st of May, the party reached Ghérgo.]

Ghérgo is a place not without interest, and seems to be of considerable antiquity. According to tradition, it is stated to be seven years older than Túmbutu or Timbúktu, and seems therefore well deserving of a right to be identified with one of the celebrated centres of life in these regions in the first dawn of historical record. It was originally situated on the main, occupying an eminence a little east of our encampment, till, in more recent times, the weakened and unprotected inhabitants were obliged to retire behind the backwater from fear of the Tawárek.

*Tuesday, May 23d.* We started in the cool of the morning, keeping close to the border of the swampy creek, which gradually becomes narrower, while the principal trunk of the river approaches. After a march of about a mile and a half we receded a little into the desert, which exhibited an immense number of footprints of the giraffe, generally three or four together. Here the vegetation was rather scanty, the ground in general being covered with nothing but low bushes; but, after we had approached a small ridge of sandy downs, we crossed a hollow, which, being the dried-up ground of a pond, or dhaye, was surrounded with dúm bush and tobacco-grounds.

We had been joined some time previously by a chief of the Kél-antsár, who invited us to spend the hot hours of the day with him. We therefore halted at an early hour by the side of his encampment, which was situated on a promontory close beyond the rich vale whence the district was called "eráshar;" Kírtebe and Tárashít we had left on one side. The people slaughtered a whole ox, and sent us a great many dishes of rice and sour milk. The whole tribe of the Kél-antsár is rather numerous, numbering upward of 1000 full-grown men, but they are scattered over a wide extent of country, reaching from Gógó to Rás el má, and even into the interior of Tagánet, the district between Timbúktu and A'zawad. We had intended to pitch our tent here, but we found the ground so extremely dry and hard that it would not hold the pegs.

[On their journey the shiekh and Dr. Barth had separate

encampments. On one of their halts the doctor, visiting the sheikh's tent is led to reflect on the high character of this African royal family.]

I afterward called upon my protector. One of his younger brothers, Sídi I'lemín, had the preceding day come to pay him a visit as he was passing through this country, and when I was ascending the sandy hill, on the slope of which their matting dwelling had been erected, he came out to meet me, and complimented me in a very cheerful manner. He was a respectable man, with a very pleasing countenance, and had with him his son, a most beautiful boy of seven years.

I could not help thinking what a noble family this was. They were all sons of Sídi Mohammed el Kunti, the chief who received Major Laing in A'zawád. First, Mukhtár, Bakáy's elder brother, who succeeded to his father when that chief had succumbed to an epidemic fever which raged in A'zawád, just at the time of Major Laing's arrival, and who died in 1847; then Sídi Mohammed, a man with a truly princely demeanor; then El Bakáy himself; next, 'Abidín, likewise well deserving the distinguished position of a chief, although he differed in politics from El Bakáy; then Hámma, a man with whom I did not become personally acquainted, but who was represented by all as a noble man; Sídi I'lemín; Bábá A'hmed; and Sídi A'mmer. This latter is the youngest, but certainly not the least noble of the family. While on a visit to Sókoto, together with his brother, El Bakáy, he made a deeper impression upon the people and obtained their favor more generally than his elder brother. A'laváte is the only member of this family who, with the exception of his learning, does not seem to contribute much to its honor; but, even in his case, we must take into account the customs of the country, and not judge of him according to our views of nobility.

[The progress of the travellers was slow, Dr. Barth and the sheikh keeping near each other and always near the river. No interesting incident occurred till June 18th, when they arrived at Kókoro.]

*June 18th.* In the locality, which is called Kókoro, we made

a halt in order to wait for El Bakáy; but, as he did not come, and as we were unable to stay in this wilderness where no encampment was near, we moved on in the afternoon, with an almost exact southerly direction, toward Gógó, G'awó, or Ghágo, the celebrated capital of the Songhay empire. We first kept along the border of the green swampy creek, which farther on presented an open sheet of water, while on our left, between the dense dúm bush, dúm palms also began to appear. But about two miles farther on, leaving the creek for a while, we ascended sandy downs, where, from the deserted site of a former ámazah, bearing evident traces of having been the resting-place of a numerous herd of cattle, my companions descried in the distance the tops of the palm-trees of Gógó, while I strained my eyes in vain, filled as I was with the most ardent desire of at length reaching that place.

Descending then into a slight depression, we reached a larger fáddama, which soon after was joined by a considerable branch from the northwest, gradually filling with water as we advanced, and forming an arm of the river. From beyond the other side a very comfortable-looking encampment became visible, and almost induced my companions to give up the plan of reaching the desolate site of the former capital of this Nigritian empire; but the fine tamarind-trees and the beautiful date palms burst now too distinctly upon our view to allow me to relinquish the pleasure of reaching them without farther delay. It was a most interesting and cheering sight to behold a large expanse of fields of native corn take the place of the desert. The whole country became one open cultivable level, uninterrupted by any downs; and I thought at that moment that we had bid farewell to the desert forever, and entered the fertile region of Central Negroland, an expectation which, however, was not fully realized by what I observed farther on. But here, at least, even in the present decayed state of the country, there were some remains of industry, and the stubble-fields of sába, or sorghum, were succeeded by tobacco plantations, and, after a slight interruption, by rice-grounds under water. However, darkness set in before we reached the miserable hovels of Gógó,

and we encamped on a large open area, bordered round about by detached huts of matting, from which the ruins of a large tower-like building of clay arose to a considerable height, and by a fine grove of rich trees, running on into a dense underwood of siwák. The river was not visible from this point.

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## CHAPTER XXXI.

Residence at Gógó—Separation from the Sheikh—Dangerous position of the party near Tagabáta.

*Tuesday, June 20th.* As soon as I had made out that Gógó was the place which for several centuries had been the capital of a strong and mighty empire in this region, I felt a more ardent desire to visit it than I had to reach Timbúktu. The latter, no doubt, had become celebrated throughout the whole of Europe on account of the commerce which centered in it; nevertheless, I was fully aware that Timbúktu had never been more than a provincial town, although it exercised considerable influence upon the neighboring regions from its being the seat of Mohammedan learning. But G'awó, or Gógó, had been the centre of a great national movement, from whence powerful and successful princes, such as the great Mohammed el Háj A'skia, spread their conquests from Kebbi, or rather Háusa, in the east, as far as Fúta in the west, and from Tawát in the north, as far as Wángara and Mósi toward the south.

At present the name of G'awó is given not only to the site of the former capital, but also to the island, and even to the opposite shore of A'ribínda; and I once supposed that the chief part of the town was situated on the island, but this does not appear to have been the case; neither does it appear to have stood on the western bank. The fact is, that in former times there were two distinct quarters of Gógó, the quarter of the idolaters on the western bank toward Gúrma, and the royal and Mohammedan quarter on the eastern bank toward Egypt,

whence Islâm, with its accompanying civilization, had been introduced. In the course of time the latter quarter would gain over the former, which from the beginning, when pagan worship was prevalent, was no doubt the more considerable.

It was not until the second day of our arrival that my protector, accompanied by Hanna, Khozématen, Hammalába, and the other chief men of the Kél e' Súk, who had come to have an interview with him, joined us. These people were mounted partly on camels, partly on horseback, and the large open area which spread out between the mosque and our tents thus became greatly enlivened, and it was not long before some messengers who had been sent to Alkúttabu returned with the answer that he would meet the sheikh in this place in three days. It almost appeared as if Gógó was again to acquire some slight historical importance as the place of meeting between the native chiefs of these disturbed regions and a European anxious to inspire the natives of these countries with fresh energy, and to establish a regular intercourse along the high road which Nature herself has prepared.

[Dr. Barth remained at Gógó till the 8th of July.]

*Saturday, July 8th.* At length the day dawned when I was, in reality, to begin my home-journey, for all our former movements along the river had rather resembled the wanderings of the natives themselves than the direct march of a European traveller, and, although I felt sincerely attached to my protector, and under other circumstances might still have found a great many objects worthy of my investigation and research in this region, I could not but feel greatly satisfied at being at length enabled to retrace my steps homeward, with a tolerable guarantee as to my safety. It was highly gratifying to me that when I left this place a great many people wished me a hearty farewell and a prosperous journey.

*Sunday, July 9th.* This was the day when I had to separate from the person whom, among all the people with whom I had come in contact in the course of my long journey, I esteemed the most highly, and whom, in all but his dilatory habits and phlegmatic indifference, I had found a most excellent and trust-

worthy man. I had lived with him for so long a time in daily intercourse, and in the most turbulent circumstances, sharing all his perplexities and anxieties, that I could not but feel the parting very severely. Having exhorted the messengers whom he was to send along with me never to quarrel, and to follow implicitly my advice in all cases, but especially with regard to the rate of progress in the journey, as he knew that I was impatiently looking forward to my home-journey, he gave me his blessing, and assured me that I should certainly reach home in safety.

The river here, at present, was studded with sand-banks, which greatly facilitated the crossing of my camels and horses, although between the sand-banks and the southwesterly shore there was a deep channel of considerable breadth. The locality where I touched the southwestern bank of the river is called Góna, a name identical with that of a place of great celebrity for its learning and its schools in the countries of the Mohammedan Mandingoes to the south.

The chief of my companions, A'hmed el Wádáwi, being once more called beyond the river into the presence of the sheikh, we did not leave this place till a late hour in the afternoon, keeping along the low swampy shore. After a while an open branch approached us from the river on our left, forming an island of the name of Berta. Here an animated scene presented itself to our eyes. An immense female hippopotamus was driving her calf before her and protecting it from behind, her body half out of the water, while a great number of "agamba" and "zangway," crocodiles and alligators, were basking in the sun on the low sand-banks, and glided into the water with great celerity at the noise of our approach.

Here the swampy shore presented some cultivation of rice, while on the opposite side the river was bounded by the rocky cliffs of Tin-shêran; but the sandy beach, which a week previously had been animated by the numerous encampments of the Gábéro, was now desolate and deserted, and we continued our march in order to find out their new camping-ground.

While ascending a spur of rising ground called Gúndam, a fierce poisonous snake made a spring at my mounted servant,

who was close behind me, but was killed by the men who fortunately followed him at a short distance. It was about four feet and a half long, and its body did not exceed an inch and a half in diameter.

Having then kept along the slope for a little more than a mile, we again descended into the grassy plain, and reached a considerable creek, forming a series of rapids gushing over a low ledge of rocks, and encompassing the island of Bornu-Gungu, where the Gá-béro were at present encamped. The creek being too considerable to allow of our crossing it with all our effects we encamped between it and the swamp, in a locality called Júna-bária; and I here distributed among my companions the articles which I had promised them.

The river at this point was frequented by several hippopotami, one of which, in its pursuit of good pasturage in the dusk of the evening, left the shore far behind it, and was pursued by my companions, who fired at it, without, however, hurting it or preventing its reaching the water.

[No incident of importance occurred till the 26th of July, when the party had just crossed the river Sirba, near the village of Tagabáta. Here they narrowly escaped destruction, in a way which is highly characteristic of the dangerous and disorderly state of the regions through which they were travelling.]

Proceeding onward, we suddenly observed that the covert in front of us was full of armed men. As soon as they became aware that we had observed them, they advanced toward us with the most hostile gesticulations, swinging their spears and fitting their arrows to their bows, and we were just going to fire upon them, when we observed among them my servant, the Gatróni, whom a short time before I had sent to fetch some water from the river. This fortunate circumstance suddenly arrested our hostile intentions and led to a peaceable understanding. We were then informed that, obtaining a sight of us from a hill while we were still at a distance, and seeing six armed horsemen, they had taken us for a hostile host, and had armed themselves; and it was very fortunate for my servant

with whom they first met, as well as for ourselves, that one of them understood a little Háusa, and was able to make out from his description the nature of our undertaking. But for this, we should perhaps have been overwhelmed by numbers. The first troop consisted of upward of 100 men, all armed with bow and spear, and round black shields, many of them wearing a battle-axe besides; and smaller detachments were posted at short intervals up to the very outskirts of their village. They consisted of both Songhay and Fúlbe, and the greater part wore nothing but leathern aprons. They wanted us to accompany them to their village, but we did not feel sufficient confidence in them to do so, and we were glad when we got rid of them. On this occasion I had another proof of the warlike character of my Arab companion 'Alí el A'geren, who, as long as there was any danger, kept at a respectful distance behind the camels, but, as soon as he saw that all was over, he rushed out his little pony in the most furious manner, and threatened to put to death the whole body of men, so that I had great difficulty in appeasing him. Probably, if we had had a serious encounter, he would have turned his horse's head, and I should never have seen him again.

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## CHAPTER XXXII.

Arrival at Say—Residence at Say—Departure—Támkala—Audience of the Governor — Gando — Arrival at Sókoto — Residence in Wurnó — Arrival at Kanó.

We approached the town of Say, which was scarcely visible, owing to the exuberant vegetation which surrounded its wall on every side, and which exhibited a most remarkable contrast to that dryness and monotony which characterized the place on my former visit. The town itself was at present intersected by a broad sheet of water, which seemed almost to separate it into two distinct quarters. I at length reached the house of

the governor, where I, as well as my horse, were cheerfully recognised as old acquaintances. I was quartered in the same little hut in which I had resided more than a year previously, but a considerable change had been made in its arrangement. The comfortable little sleeping place of matting had been restored, and was very acceptable in the rainy season, more especially as it did not entirely preclude a current of air, while it enabled me to put away all my small treasures in security.

Having rested awhile in my hut, I, with my companions, obeyed the summons of the governor, and found our poor old friend, A'bú-Bakr, in the very same room where we had left him more than a year previously. He was now quite lame in consequence of his disease of señi, but looked a little better than on the former occasion, and I soon had an opportunity of admiring his accurate knowledge of the country; for when A'hmed el Wádáwi had read to him the kasáíd or poems addressed by my friend El Bakáy to the Emír A'hmedu, and began to relate some of the more remarkable incidents of our journey, he was corrected every moment in the nomenclature of the places by the governor, who appeared to possess the most accurate philological knowledge of all the spots along the river as far as Tóndibi, where he had been obliged to turn his back on his voyage up the Niger. He apparently took great interest in the endeavor of the sheikh to open a communication with the Fúlbe of Gando and Sókoto, and expressed his deep sorrow that on his former voyage he was prevented by the hostile behavior of the chief El Khadír from reaching Timbúktu, when my companions assured him that the sheikh, on the first news of his approach, had sent a messenger in order to insure his safety from the Tawárek.

Even if we do not take into account this attempt of his, there is no doubt that the Governor of Say is of the utmost importance in the endeavor to ascend this river, and it is only to be lamented that he has not greater means, pecuniary and military, at his disposal, in order to draw from the favorable position of his province all the results possible. Altogether, his circumstances at this moment, especially in consequence of

the rebellion of the Province of Déndina, were rather poor. At the same time, his own debilitated condition prevents him from exerting his power, and can only tend to increase his political weakness. The rather inhospitable treatment which we received may thus be explained. Nevertheless, I made him this time a considerable present, including a red bernús of inferior quality, which I had kept back for the occasion. However, I was so fortunate, in acknowledgment for some medicines with which I endeavored to alleviate his complaint, as to receive from him a small piece of sugar, which was a great treat to me, as I had long been deprived of this luxury, there being none in the market; and when we left the place, after a stay of three days, he was generous enough to make my companions a present of a camel, of which they stood much in need.

*Wednesday, August 2d.* It was in the afternoon that we left our narrow quarters in the town of Say, which had appeared to us the more inconvenient as we had experienced several thunder-storms, which had obliged us to take refuge in the interior of our narrow huts.

It was with a deep feeling of satisfaction that I again crossed this magnificent river, on whose banks I had lived for so long a time, and the course of which I had followed for so many hundred miles. It would have been of no small importance if I had been able to follow its banks as far as Yaúri, and thus to connect by my own inspection the middle course of this noble river with the lower part, as far as it has been visited by the Landers, and partly, at least, by various distinguished English officers. But such an undertaking was entirely out of the question, on account of the exhausted state of my means, the weak condition of my health, and the advanced stage of the rainy season, which made it absolutely necessary for me to reach Sókoto as soon as possible; and, what was still more, in consequence of the rebellious state of the Province of Déndino, which at the time made any intercourse along the river impossible for so small a troop as I had then under my command. At this season of the year, moreover, it would be impracticable,

even if the country were in a tranquil state, to keep close along the banks of the river.

This time also I had succeeded in crossing the river without any accident, with the single exception that a camel which belonged to one of my companions was so obstinate that it was found impossible to induce it to enter the boats, which were not of the same size as those of the preceding year. It was thus forced to cross the river by swimming alongside, and arrived in the most exhausted state, the river being about 900 yards across. The nearest village being too far off, we were obliged to encamp for the night on the gentle grassy slope of the bank, which, a little above and below the place of embarkation, forms steep cliffs of about 80 feet elevation. The evening was beautiful, and the scenery of the river, with the feathery dúm palms on the opposite shore, was lovely in the extreme, and well adapted to leave on my mind a lasting impression of the magnificent watery high road which Nature has opened into the heart of this continent. Thus I took leave of the Niger.

*Friday, August 4th.* This day brought me to Támkala; my camels pursuing a shorter and I a more circuitous route, but both arriving at the same time at the gate of this town. It had been my intention from the beginning to visit this place, but the turbulent state of the country had induced me the year before to follow a more direct road, and I did not learn until now that on that occasion A'bú el Hassan, as soon as he heard of my approach, had sent four horsemen to Gárbo in order to conduct me to his presence, but they did not arrive till after I had left that place.

[Dr. Barth visited the governor A'bú el Hassan, and explained his apparent neglect. He was cordially received and well treated. The audience was long, and in the usual style with these African potentates.]

On returning to my quarters I distributed my last presents among those of my companions who were to remain here, and handed them a letter for the Sheikh el Bakáy, wherein I again assured him of my attachment to his family, and expressed the

hope that, even at a great distance, we might not cease to cultivate our mutual friendship.

[Leaving Támkala on the 6th of August, the Doctor reached Gando on the 17th.]

On the top of the rocky eminence, we obtained a view of the valley of Gando, and, descending, soon reached the gate of the town, and straightway rode to the house of the monkish prince, where we were soon surrounded by a number of people, who congratulated me on my fortunate return. After a while there appeared also my tormentor, El Bakáy, which name now appeared to me as a mere satire, associating as it did this vilest of Arabs with that noble man who had showed me so much disinterested friendship. But when he again commenced his old tactics I immediately made a serious protest, declaring at once that the only thing which it was in my power to give him this time was a black tobe and a red cap, and this I assured him he should not get until the very moment when I was about to leave the place. The dismal clay house where I had been lodged during my former stay in the place had since fallen in, and other quarters were assigned to me, consisting of a court-yard and two huts.

The quarters which had been allotted to me this time were at least a little more airy than my former ones. My former guide, Dahóme, here paid me a visit. Upon asking him whether he had faithfully delivered to the m'allem 'Abd el Káder, in Sókoto, the parcel I had given him on his taking leave of me at Dóre, he put on a rather sullen look, took from his cap a small leather case, opened it, and, drawing forth a dirty piece of paper, to my utmost surprise and disappointment, exclaimed, "Here is your letter!" I then learned that, in consequence of the violent rains through which he had had to make his way, and the many rivers and swamps which he had to cross, the whole envelope of the letter, containing the lines addressed to my friend in Sókoto, had been destroyed, so that the latter, receiving only the English letter, and not knowing what to do with this hieroglyphic, at length returned it to the bearer, who had since used it as a charm. Besides this

mishap, which had delayed this letter so long, instead of its being forwarded directly to Europe in order to inform my friends of my proceedings, there was another disagreeable piece of information for me here, viz., that nearly the half of the huts composing the town had been consumed during my absence by a conflagration, and that all my books which I had left behind had in consequence been destroyed.

I staid four days in Gando, endeavoring, in vain, to obtain an audience from the prince, and to persuade my companions, the télamíd, to give up their hopes of a handsome present from this niggardly man, who sent me, if I may attribute the proceedings of his slaves to himself, in return for all the presents I had made him, a common black tobe and 3000 shells, although my supplies were totally exhausted, and the two camels which I still possessed were more or less worn out, so that I stood greatly in need of generous aid; but, not wanting anything besides from the governor, I was thankful that I had passed unmolested through his extensive dominions on my outward as well as on my home-journey, and even protected, as far as his feeble power was able to grant protection.

*Wednesday, August 23d.* I was heartily glad when I left this town, where I had experienced a great deal of trouble, although I could not but acknowledge that, if I had not succeeded in some degree in securing the friendship of the ruling men in this place, it would not have fallen to my lot to have reached even the banks of the Niger.

[Passing on, Dr. Barth arrived at Sókoto on the 24th, and remained till the 29th. He was well received by the Emír el Mumenín, and furnished with additional camels for his journey. He reached Wurnó, the residence of 'Alíyu, on the 30th. Here he was taken sick and remained till the 5th of October.]

Having at length overcome the laziness of my companions, I had the satisfaction of seeing my departure finally arranged for the 5th of October. The ghaladíma, in whose company on my outward journey I had come from Kátsena, was again to be my fellow-traveller on my return eastward. I therefore completed my preparations, and on the 4th of October I had

my final leave-taking, or, as the Háusa people say, the babankwána, when I took the opportunity of excusing myself to 'Alíyu for having been this year a little troublesome, after the fashion of those Arab sherífs who used to visit him, stating at the same time that if my means had not been almost exhausted, I should have preferred buying a horse for myself. Having made this prelude, I endeavored to impress upon him the dangerous state of the road, when he made use of the expression common in Háusa, "Alla shibúdeta!" ("God may open it!"); but I protested against such an excess of reliance upon the Divine intervention, and exhorted him to employ his own strength and power for such a purpose, for without security of roads I assured him there could be no intercourse or traffic. He either was, or seemed to be, very desirous that the English should open trading relations with him; and I even touched on the circumstance that, in order to facilitate such an intercourse, it would be best to blow up certain rocks which most obstructed the navigation between Yáuri and Búsa, but of such an undertaking I convinced myself that it was better not to say too much at once, as that ought to be an affair of time.

Altogether, 'Alíyu had entered into the most cheerful conversation with me on all occasions, and had questioned me upon every subject without reserve. He also furnished me with four letters of recommendation, one to the Governor of Kanó, one to that of Bauchi, one to that of A'damáwa, and one in a more general sense, addressed to all the governors of the different provinces in his empire. Thus I took leave of him and his court, probably never to see that region again, and lamenting that this extensive empire, which is so advantageously situated for a steady intercourse with Europeans, was not in the hands of an energetic chieftain, who would be able to give stability to conquest, and to organize the government of these provinces, so richly endowed by nature, with a strong hand.

*Thursday, October 5th.* It was about three o'clock in the afternoon when I took my final leave of Wurnó. I had twice

resided in this capital for some length of time, experiencing, on the whole, much kindness. On my outward journey I had been furnished for my dangerous undertaking with a strong and powerful recommendation; and on my return, although I had come into hostile contact with another section of the same tribe to which the inhabitants of this country belong, I had been again received without the least suspicion, had been treated with great regard, notwithstanding the exhausted state of my finances, and allowed to pursue my home-journey as soon as the season reopened the communication with the neighboring province.

[On the 14th of October Dr. Barth arrived at Kanó.]

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## CHAPTER XXXIII.

Second residence in Kanó, under unfavorable circumstances — March towards Kúkawa — Meeting with Mr. Vogel — Last residence in Kanó — Departure of Mr. Vogel — Departure from Kanó — Journey to Fezzán — Arrival at Múrzuk — Sokna — Dr. Barth is received by Mr. Reade at 'A′in Zára — Arrival at Tripoli — At Paris — At London — Remarks on the expedition.

On my arrival in Kanó I found everything prepared, and took up my quarters in a house provided for me; but I was greatly disappointed in finding neither letters nor supplies, being entirely destitute of means, and having several debts to pay in this place — among others, the money due to my servants, to whom I had paid nothing during the whole journey from Kúkawa to Timbúktu and back. I was scarcely able to explain how all this could have happened, having fully relied upon finding here everything I wanted, together with satisfactory information with regard to the proceedings of Mr. Vogel and his companions, whose arrival in Kúkawa I had as yet only accidentally learned from a liberated slave in Sókoto. But fortunately, without relying much upon Sídi Ráshid, the

man whom I knew to be at the time the agent of her majesty's vice-consul in Múrzuk, I had given my confidence at once to Sídi 'Alí, the merchant, whose good-will I endeavored at once to secure by sacrificing to him almost everything I had left of value, including a small six-barrelled pistol. In return, he promised to supply my wants till I should be put in possession of the money and merchandise which I had deposited in Zínder.

The first thing, therefore, which I had to do the next morning, after having paid my compliments to the ghaladíma and the governor, and made to each of them a handsome present, such as my means would allow, was to send my servant Mohammed el Gatróni, upon whom I could fully rely, to Zínder, giving him full instructions, and promising him a handsome present if he should succeed in bringing away all my effects, both those which had been deposited on a former occasion, and the merchandise which had been forwarded on my account at a later period, and a smaller one in case he should only find the latter portion; for, after all, I was by no means sure that the box of ironware and the four hundred dollars had remained safe during the severe civil struggles which had agitated Bórnu during my absence. Meanwhile, till the return of this messenger, I endeavored to pass my time as usefully as possible, by completing a survey of the town which I had begun during my former residence, but was far from having finished. At the same time, the state of my health, on account of the close quarters in which I was here lodged, after having roved about in the open air for so long a time, required uninterrupted exercise. Owing to the change in my mode of living, severe fits of fever attacked me repeatedly.

Kanó will always remain one of the most unfavorable localities for Europeans in this region; and it was well that Mr. Vogel, for the first year after his arrival in Negroland, purposely avoided this spot. Even my animals did not escape the malignant effect of the climate. Three of my horses were seized, one after the other, with a contagious disease, commencing with a swelling of the thighs, and from thence spread-

ing to the breast and the head, and generally proving fatal in six or eight days. In this way I lost two out of my three horses, including my old companion, who had carried me through so many dangerous campaigns, and who had shared all my fatigues and sufferings for nearly three years; but the small and ugly, but strong horse, which the Sultan of Sókoto had made me a present of, escaped with its life.

Besides my own private concerns, and the anxiety produced by the urgency of my debts and the uncertainty with regard to the property left by me in Zínder, there were two objects which attracted my whole attention, and caused me a good deal of perplexity and hesitation. The first of these was the expedition sent by the English government up the River Bénuwé, of which I had not the slightest idea at the time when it was carried out, for the despatches which I had received in Timbúktu, after so much delay, did not contain a word about such a proceeding; and the letters which were forwarded afterward to my address, informing me that such an expedition was to be undertaken, remained in Kúkawa, and I did not get them until my arrival in that place at the end of December. Thus it was not until the 29th of October that, just in the same manner as I had heard accidentally in Sókoto of the arrival of Mr. Vogel in Kúkawa, I was informed here, by the report of the natives, of such an expedition having taken place. I at first thought that it was undertaken by Captain M'Leod, of whose proposal to ascend the Niger I had accidentally gleaned some information through a number of the Galignani, and it was not until the 13th of November that I succeeded in meeting the person who had seen the expedition with his own eyes. This man informed me that the expedition consisted of one large boat, he did not know whether of iron or of wood, and two smaller ones, containing altogether seven gentlemen and seventy slaves, he of course taking the Kroomen for slaves. Moreover, I learned from him that the members of this expedition had not gone as far as Yóla, the capital of A'damáwa, as the Governor of Hamárruwa had warned them not to go up to that place with their steamer, on account of

the narrow passage between the mountains. He also informed me that they had commenced their home-journey earlier than had been expected, and that he himself, having proceeded to Yákoba in order to procure more ivory for them, had found them gone on his return.

The other circumstance which greatly occupied my mind at this time was the state of affairs in Kúkawa; for in the beginning, on the first news of the revolution in Bórnu, and of the Sheikh 'Omár being dethroned and his vizier slain, I had given up my project of returning by Bórnu, intending to try again the difficult road by A'ïr. At a later season, however, when I heard on the road that 'Omár was again installed, I cherished the hope that it might be possible to take the safer route by the Tebu country, especially as I received the news of a most sanguinary struggle having taken place between the Kél-owí and the Kél-gerés. In this struggle a great many of the noblest men of the former were said to have fallen, together with several hundred of the common people on both sides. I was sorry to hear that in this struggle my best friends had succumbed.

Meanwhile the news from Kúkawa remained very unsatisfactory, and false rumors were continually brought from thence. Thus it was reported on the 1st of November that the Sugúrti had vanquished 'Omár, who had made his escape accompanied only by a couple of horsemen; and it was not until the 9th that we received trustworthy news that he was holding his position steadily against the intrigues of the party of his brother, whom he kept in prison. It was with great satisfaction that I saw messengers from 'Omár arrive in the course of a few days, in order to present his compliments to the governor of this place. I at once had them called to my house, and made them a few presents, in order to express my satisfaction at their master having recovered his kingdom, and still holding his position; for it was a most important point with me to see my road to Bórnu clear, and to meet there with Mr. Vogel and his party, in order to give him my advice and assistance with respect to the countries which it was most de-

sirable that he should explore. But in the situation in which I was thus placed, it proved most difficult to obtain the means of reaching Kúkawa, as I had no money at my disposal; for, to my great disappointment, the servant whom I had sent to Zínder on the 18th, in order to bring from thence the property which I had deposited there, as well as the merchandise which had arrived afterward, returned on the 4th of November empty-handed, bringing nothing but a few letters. It was now that I heard that the news of my death had been everywhere believed, and that a servant of Mr. Vogel's, together with a slave of 'Abd e' Rahmán's, had arrived in Zínder from Kúkawa, and had taken away all the merchandise that had reached that place on my account, the box with the 400 dollars and the cutlery having been stolen long before, immediately after the assassination of the sheríf.

Thus, then, I was left destitute also from this side, and I felt the want of supplies the more, as my head man, 'Alí el A'geren, supported by the wording of the contract, which I had entered into with him, had claimed here peremptorily the payment of the rest of his salary, which amounted to 111 dollars, and I had been obliged to request Sídi 'Alí to pay him this sum on my account. This man had cost me very dear, and if I had possessed sufficient means I should have discharged him in Timbúktu, as he there threw off all allegiance and obedience to me as soon as he became aware of the dangers which surrounded me. He was likewise of very little service to me on my return-journey; but, of course, he was now anxious to excuse himself for his conduct on the road, and even laid claim to the present which I had promised him in the event of his conduct proving quite to my satisfaction. This, however, I refused with good reason; and I was glad to find that my other servants, whose salaries amounted altogether to nearly 200 dollars, were willing to wait for their payment until we reached Kúkawa.

However, the parcel which my servant brought me from Zínder, was not quite devoid of subjects of gratification, as besides a few letters from Europe, including a map of South

Africa by Mr. Cooley, it contained two beautifully-written Arabic letters, one addressed to 'Alíyu, the Emír of Sókoto, and the other a general letter of recommendation, addressed by her majesty's consul in Tripoli to the chiefs of the Fúlbe. These letters I had expressly written for, and if I had received them two years earlier they would have been of great service to me. As it was, I sent the letter destined for 'Alíyu to the governor, who was so much pleased with it that he forwarded it by a special messenger, accompanied by a letter from myself, wherein I expressed my regret that I had not been able to present this letter to him on my personal visit, while at the same time I excused myself for not being able at the time to send him a small present, not having found here any supplies, and being entirely destitute of means. Having heard a report, which afterward proved to be false, that the Governor of Hamárruwa had formed the intention of attacking the people in the English steamer with a large force, I took the opportunity of protesting in this letter against such proceedings, giving the chief a plain statement of the peaceable intentions of the expedition.

The parcel which my servant had brought me from Zínder seemed also to hold out the prospect of material aid; for the letter from Mr. Dickson, dated the latter part of 1853, wherein he at the same time informed me, to my great disappointment, that he was about to leave his post for the Crimea, contained two letters of recommendation to a couple of Ghadámsi merchants, of the names of Háj A'hmed ben Slímán and Mohammed ben Músa, who, as he informed me, had property of his own in their hands, in order to assist me in case I should be in want of money; but when I sent these letters to their destination they were very coldly received, and it was intimated to me that I could not be accommodated. The disappointment which the awkwardness of my pecuniary circumstances caused me was soothed in some degree by the offer which the Fezzáni merchant, Khweldi, whose kindness to me I have mentioned on a previous occasion, made me at the same time, of lending me 200 dollars in cash. In the afternoon of the 14th a servant

of his arrived with the money, which, however, did not suffice for my actual wants, as I had to return to Sídi 'Alí the 111 dollars which he had paid to my servant 'Alí el A'geren. After having made a suitable present to the messenger, I had therefore only a very small sum remaining, and the disappointment which I had experienced with regard to my luggage made me reluctant to forego the project which I had formed of taking home with me specimens of the manufacture of this place. I had also to buy two horses and a couple of camels, together with sundry other articles, and I was therefore obliged to procure farther means, however difficult it might be. I had even a great deal of trouble with Sídi 'Alí, who put off his promise to accommodate me from day to day.

At length, having, on the 10th of November, written an energetic letter to this merchant, it was agreed that the affair between myself and the Ghadámsi merchants, who refused to lend me money, although they had English property in their hands, should be referred to the ghaladíma, who granted me a public interview for the purpose. In this audience, in which a great number of other people were present, the merchants founded their refusal to comply with my request on the old date of the letter in which they were ordered to attend to my wishes; and it was not until the ghaladíma had ordered them to bring into his presence all that they possessed of the British agent's property, that they agreed the following day to lend me a sum of money, at the usual rate of one hundred per cent. Being obliged to agree to this condition, as it had never been my intention to oblige them by force to grant me a loan without allowing them their usual profit, I stipulated to receive from them 500,000 shells, equal in this place to 200 *dollars, on the condition that* 400 *should be repaid in Tripoli at four months' date.** This loan, which would not have been necessary at all if I had found my supplies, enabled me, on the other hand, to send off my dispatches with the greatest ease

* [A pretty good shave. These usurers might have spared the Doctor the insulting epithet of infidel.—Ed.]

and security, as it was, of course, the interest of these merchants to have these letters forwarded to Tripoli by the safest and shortest route. A courier was therefore dispatched immediately, who, being an experienced and well-known person, would be able to make his way through the country of A'ïr, which in its temporarily disturbed state was closed to any one else. The only thing which caused me some displeasure in this transaction was the circumstance that these merchants from Ghadámes had the insolence, although half the money with which they trade is Christian money, to call the Christians, in the presence of the ghaladíma, by the offensive name of "Káfaráwa" ("the infidels"), and I made a serious protest against such a term being employed in official transactions.

The difficulty which I had in supplying my wants, and purchasing the articles that in my opinion were necessary for my outfit, was the greater, as everything was very dear at the time, the merchants being of opinion, on account of the turbulent state of the road, that no caravan from the north would arrive that year. Camels especially were exceedingly dear, seven fine animals which Khweldi had sent from Zínder being sold for 60,000 shells each, a very high price for a camel. I deemed myself, therefore, very fortunate in being able to purchase a she-camel of inferior quality for 45,000. I also was so lucky as to buy an excellent mare for 70,000 shells, or less than thirty dollars. Having thus at length provided for all my wants, I got everything ready for starting on the 21st, and heartily glad I was when I was fairly embarked on this the last stage of my journeying in Negroland, with the prospect before me that, in six months or so, I might again breath the invigorating air of the north.

[On his way to Kúkawa Dr. Barth met Mr. Vogel near Búndi.]

I reached Búndi after a short march, proceeding in advance of my camels in order to pay my compliments to the governor, and to obtain from him an escort through the unsafe district which intervened between this town and Zurríkulo. After a little tergiversation, my old friend, the ghaladíma, 'Omár,

acceded to my request, giving me a guide who, he assured me, would procure an escort for me in the village of Sheshéri, where a squadron of horse was stationed for the greater security of the road. I had experienced the inhospitable disposition of this officer during my former stay here, and felt, therefore, little inclination to be his guest a second time; but if I had had any foreboding that Mr. Vogel was so near at hand, I would gladly have made some stay.

Having rejoined my camels, I set out, without delay, through the forest, taking the lead with my head servant; but I had scarcely proceeded three miles when I saw advancing toward me a person of strange aspect—a young man of very fair complexion, dressed in a tobe like the one I wore myself, and with a white turban wound thickly round his head. He was accompanied by two or three blacks, likewise on horseback. One of them I recognised as my servant M'adi, whom, on setting out from Kúkawa, I had left in the house as a guardian. As soon as he saw me he told the young man that I was 'Abd el Kerím, in consequence of which Mr. Vogel (for he it was) rushed forward, and, taken by surprise as both of us were, we gave each other a hearty reception from horseback. As for myself, I had not had the remotest idea of meeting him, and he, on his part, had only a short time before received the intelligence of my safe return from the west. Not having the slightest notion that I was alive, and judging from its Arab address that the letter which I forwarded to him from Kanó was a letter from some Arab, he had put it by without opening it, waiting till he might meet with a person who should be able to read it.

In the midst of this inhospitable forest we dismounted and sat down together on the ground; and my camels having arrived, I took out my small bag of provisions, and had some coffee boiled, so that we were quite at home. It was with great amazement that I heard from my young friend that there were no supplies in Kúkawa; that what he had brought with him had been spent; and that the usurper 'Abd e' Rahmán had treated him very badly, having even taken possession of the property which I had left in Zínder. He moreover informed

me that he himself was on his way to that place, in order to see whether fresh supplies had not arrived, being also anxious to determine the position of that important town by an astronomical observation, and thus to give a firmer basis to my own labors. But the news of the want of pecuniary supplies did not cause me so much surprise as the report which I received from him that he did not possess a single bottle of wine; for, having now been for more than three years without a drop of any stimulant except coffee, and having suffered severely from frequent attacks of fever and dysentery, I had an insuperable longing for the juice of the grape, of which former experience had taught me the benefit. On my former journey through Asia Minor I had contracted a serious fever in the swamps of Lycia, and quickly regained my strength by the use of good French wine. I could not help reproaching my friend for having too hastily believed the news of my death before he had made all possible inquiries; but, as he was a new-comer into this country and did not possess a knowledge of the language, I could easily perceive that he had no means of ascertaining the truth or falsehood of those reports.

I also learned from him that there were dispatches for me in Kúkawa, informing me of the expedition sent up the River Tsadda, or Bénuwé. With regard to his own proceedings, he informed me that his sole object in going to Mándará had been to join that expedition, having been misled by the opinion of my friends in Europe, who thought that I had gone to A'damáwa by way of Mándará, and that, when once in Morá, he had become aware of the mistake he had committed when too late, and had endeavored in vain to retrieve his error by going from that place to Ujé, from whence the overthrow of the usurper 'Abd e' Rahmán and the return of his brother 'Omár to power had obliged him to return to Kúkawa.

While we were thus conversing together the other members of the caravan in whose company Mr. Vogel was travelling arrived, and expressed their astonishment and surprise at my sitting quietly in the midst of the forest, talking with my friend, while the whole district was infested by hostile men. But

these Arab traders are great cowards; and I learned from my countryman that he had found a great number of these merchants assembled in Borzári, and afraid of a few robbers who infested the road beyond that place; and it was only after he had joined them with his companions that they had decided upon advancing.

After about two hours' conversation we had to separate; and while Mr. Vogel pursued his journey to Zínder (whence he promised to join me before the end of the month), I hastened to overtake my people, whom I had ordered to wait for me in Kálemrí.

[No other incident of importance took place till Dr. Barth arrived at Kúkawa, the capital of Bórnu.]

In order to procure myself a good reception from the ruler of Bórnu, after the great political disturbances which had taken place, I thought it prudent to send a messenger to him to announce my arrival. I only needed to give full expression to my real feelings in order to render my letter acceptable to my former protector, for my delight had been extreme, after the news which I had received of 'Abd e' Rahmán having usurped the supreme power, on hearing that the just and lawful Sheikh 'Omár had once more regained possession of the royal authority. The consequence was, that when, after having traversed the district of Koyám, with its straggling villages, its fine herds of camels, and its deep wells, some of them more than forty fathoms in depth, I approached the town on the 11th of December, I found 'Abd e' Nebí, the chief eunuch of the sheikh, with thirty horsemen, posted at the village of Kalíluwá, where a market was just held, in order to give me an honorable reception. Thus I re-entered the town of Kúkawa, whence I had set out on my dangerous journey to the west, in stately procession. On entering my quarters, I was agreeably surprised at finding the two sappers, Corporal Church and private Macguire, who had been sent out from England to accompany Mr. Vogel, and to join me, if possible, in my proceedings.

On reaching safely the town of Kúkawa, which had been my head-quarters for so long a period, and from whence I had first

commenced my journeys of exploration in Negroland, it might seem that I had overcome all the difficulties in the way of complete success, and that I could now enjoy a short stay in the same place before traversing the last stage of my homeward journey. Such, however, was not the case, and it was my lot to pass four months in this town under rather unpleasant circumstances. I had expected to find sufficient means here, and had, in consequence, agreed to repay the sum of 200 dollars lent me by the Fezzáni merchant Khweldi in Kanó; but there were only a few dollars in cash left of the supplies taken out by Mr. Vogel, those deposited by myself in Zínder in the hands of the Sheríf el Fási, viz., 400 dollars in cash and a box containing a considerable amount of ironware, having been plundered during the turbulent state of the country produced by the revolution. Even of the merchandise which had been lately dispatched to Zínder, and from thence, in consequence of Mr. Vogel's arrangements, transported to Kúkawa, a very considerable proportion was found, on a close examination, to have been abstracted. Being therefore in want of money, and convinced that if such an outrage were allowed to pass by unnoticed no peaceable intercourse could ever be carried on between this country and Europeans, I explained these circumstances in the first audience which I had of the sheikh, to whom I made a present worth about eight pounds sterling.

While, therefore, once more assuring him of my unbounded satisfaction at finding him reinstated in his former power, I requested him not to suffer me to be treated in this manner by thieves and robbers, and to exert his influence for the restoration of my property. This proceeding of mine, as responsible to the government under whose auspices I was travelling, involved me in a series of difficulties, and excited against me Díggama, one of the most influential courtiers at the time, and a man of mean character, as it was his servant, or more probably himself, who had obtained possession of the greater part of the plunder. In order to counteract the intrigues of this man, I endeavored to secure the friendship of Yusuf, the sheikh's next eldest brother, an intelligent and straightforward

man, by making him a handsome present, and explaining to him, in unequivocal terms, how a friendly intercourse between themselves and the English could only exist if they acted in a conscientious manner. Another circumstance which contributed to render my situation in this place still more uncomfortable was the relation which existed between Mr. Vogel and Corporal Church, one of the sappers who had come with him from England; and I was sorry that the praiseworthy and generous intention of the government in sending out these two useful persons should not be carried out to the fullest extent, but, on the contrary, should be baffled by private animosity. In this respect I had already been greatly disappointed and grieved on hearing from Mr. Vogel, when I met him on the road, that he had gone alone to Mándará, without making any use of the services of his companions. I did all in my power to convince the two sappers that, under the circumstances in which they were placed, they ought to forget petty jealousies, as it was only by a mutual good understanding that complete success in such undertakings could be secured. I succeeded in convincing Macguire, although I was less successful with Corporal Church.

Meanwhile, I spent my time in a tolerably useful manner, looking over some of the books which Mr. Vogel had brought with him, especially M. Jomard's introduction to the translation of the "Voyage au Waday," by M. Perron, and the "Flora Nigritia" of Sir William Hooker. I was also considerably interested by the perusal of a packet of letters which had been conveyed in the very box that had been plundered, and which, although dating back as late as December, 1851, afforded me a great deal of pleasure. Partly in order to fulfil a vow which I had made, and partly to obtain a more secure hold upon the friendly dispositions of the natives, I made a present to the inhabitants of the capital on Christmas day of fourteen oxen, not forgetting either rich or poor, blind or fókara, nor even the Arab strangers.

My residence in the town became infinitely more cheerful in consequence of the arrival of Mr. Vogel on the 29th of Decem-

ber, when I spent a period of twenty days most pleasantly in the company of this enterprising and courageous young traveller, who, with surprising facility, accustomed himself to all the relations of this strange life. But, while borne away by the impulse of his own enthusiasm, and giving up all pretensions to the comforts of life, he unfortunately committed the mistake of expecting that his companions, recently arrived from Europe, and whose ideas were less elevated, should do the same, and this had given rise to a lamentable quarrel, which frustrated in a great measure the intentions of the government who had sent out the party. Exchanging opinions with regard to countries which we had both of us traversed, and planning schemes as to the future course which Mr. Vogel was to pursue, and especially as to the next journey which he was to undertake toward Yákoba and A'damáwa, we passed our time very agreeably. I communicated to him, as far as it was possible in so short a space of time, all the information which I had collected during my extensive wanderings, and called his attention to various points which I begged him to clear up, especially with regard to some remarkable specimens of the vegetable kingdom, and the famous mermaid of the Bénuwé, the "ayú." It was rather unfortunate that no copy of the map which had been constructed from the materials which I had sent home had reached him, so that he remained in the dark with regard to many points which I had already cleared up. I also delivered to Mr. Vogel those letters of introduction which I had received from the ruler of Sókoto, addressed to the various governors of the provinces in this part of his empire, so that he had a fair prospect before him of being well received. We, moreover, lost no time in obtaining the sheikh's consent to his journey, and at the same time caused to be imprisoned Mesaúd, that servant of the mission who, by his connivance, had facilitated the theft committed upon my effects. In consequence of this energetic proceeding, several of the stolen articles came to light, even of those which had formed the contents of the box sent from England.

Thus we began cheerfully the year 1855, in which I was to

return to Europe from my long career of hardships and privations, and in which my young friend was to endeavor to complete my discoveries and researches, first in the southwesterly direction toward the Bénuwé, and then eastward in the direction of the Nile. We likewise indulged in the hope that he might succeed, after having explored the provinces of Baúchi and A'damáwa, in penetrating eastward along that highly interesting route which leads from Saráwu to Lóggoné, round the southern border of the mountainous country of Mándará.

Having obtained, with some difficulty, the letter of recommendation from the sheikh, and prepared everything that Mr. Vogel wanted to take with him, forming a sufficient supply to maintain him for a whole year, I accompanied my young friend out of the town in the afternoon of the 20th of January. But our start was rather unlucky, several things having been left behind; and it was after some delay and uncertainty that we joined the people who had gone on in advance with the camels, at a late hour, at the village of Díggigí. Here we passed a cheerful evening, and drank with spirit to the success of the enterprise upon which my companion was then about to engage. Mr. Vogel had also taken with him all his meteorological instruments, and his luggage being of a manifold description and rather heavy, I foresaw that he would have great trouble in transporting it through the difficult country beyond Yákoba, especially during the rainy season; and, indeed, it is evident, from the knowledge which we possess of his farther proceedings, that he either left his instruments behind in the capital of Baúchi, or that he lost them in crossing a river between that place and Záriya. As for his barometer, which he had transported with great care to Kúkawa, it went out of order the moment it was taken from the wall.

Having borne him company during the following day's march, I left him with the best wishes for his success. I had taken considerable pains in instructing his companion, Corporal Macguire, in the use of the compass, as the accurate laying down of the configuration of the ground seemed to me of the highest importance in a mountainous country like Baúchi and

A'damáwa; for Mr. Vogel himself could not be induced to undertake such a task, as it would have interfered greatly with the collecting of plants, which, besides making astronomical observations, was his chief object; and besides, being an extremely tedious business, it required a degree of patience which my young friend did not possess. However, I am afraid that even Macguire did not follow up my instructions for any length of time. At all events, as he did not accompany Mr. Vogel beyond Yákoba, it seems evident that, even if his journal should be saved, we should probably not find all the information with regard to the particulars of his route which we might desire in such a country; for, during all the journeys which he has pursued, as far as we have any knowledge of them, he relied entirely upon his astronomical observations. I will say nothing here with regard to the results of this journey, as we may entertain the hope that his journals may still be saved, and that we may thus learn something more of him than the little which has yet come to our knowledge.

[Dr. Barth was detained in Kúkawa by some business matters, and the usual delays of the old sheikh of Bórnu and his friends, till the 4th of May.]

At length, on the 4th of May, I left the town and encamped outside, close in front of the gate. The sheikh had also given me another camel, and a young and rather weak horse, which did not seem very fit for such a journey, and which, in the sequel, proved rather a burden than otherwise to me. In this spot I remained some days, waiting for my fellow-traveller Kólo, who was still detained in the town, so that I did not take leave of the sheikh until the 9th of the month, when he received me with great kindness, but was by no means backward in begging for several articles to be sent to him, especially a small cannon, which was rather out of comparison with the poor present which he had bestowed upon myself. However, he promised me that I should still receive another camel from him, of which I stood greatly in need.

Our move from Dáwerghú in the afternoon of the 10th was very inauspicious; and while a heavy thunder-storm was raging,

enveloping everything in impenetrable darkness, only occasionally illumined by the flashes of lightning, I lost my people, and had great difficulty in joining them again. Having then moved on by very short marches as far as Nghurútuwa, through a finely wooded valley called Hénderi Gálliram, we pitched our tents on the 14th of May near the town of Yó, where, to my utmost disappointment, we had to stay the five following days, during which the interesting character of the komádugu, which at present did not contain a drop of water, with its border of vegetation, afforded me but insufficient entertainment. It would, however, have been curious for any European who had adhered to the theory of the great eastern branch of the Niger flowing along this bed from the Tsád, to see us encamped in the dry bottom of this valley. At all events, oppressed as I had been all the time by the apprehension that something might still occur to frustrate my departure, I deemed it one of the happiest moments of my life when, in the afternoon of Saturday the 19th, we at length left our station at this northern frontier of Bórnu, in the present reduced state of that kingdom, and I turned my back with great satisfaction upon these countries where I had spent full five years in incessant toil and exertion. On retracing my steps northward I was filled with the hope that a merciful Providence would allow me to reach home in safety, in order to give a full account of my labors and discoveries, and, if possible, to follow up the connections which I had established with the interior for opening regular intercourse with that continent.

Our first day's march from here, however, was far from being auspicious; for, having met with frequent delays and stoppages, such as are common at the commencement of a journey, and darkness having set in, the three monkeys which I wished to take with me, by their noise and cries, frightened the camels so much that they started off at a gallop, breaking several things, and, among others, a strong musket. I saw, therefore, that nothing was to be done but to let loose these malicious little creatures, which, instead of remaining quiet, continually amused themselves with loosening all the ropes with which the

luggage was tied on the backs of the animals. Having encamped this night at a late hour, we reached, the following morning, the town of Bárruwa, and remained here the whole day, in order to provide ourselves with the dried fish which is here prepared in large quantities, and which constitutes the most useful article for procuring the necessary supplies in the Tebu country. The Dáza, or Búlgudá, who were to join us on the march, had been encamped in this spot since the previous day. From here we pursued our road to Ngégimi; but the aspect of the country had greatly changed since I last traversed it on my return from Kánem, the whole of the road which I at that time followed being now covered with water, the great inundation of the Tsád not having yet retired within its ordinary boundaries. The whole shore seemed to have given way and sunk a few feet. Besides this changed aspect of the

Hamlet of Kánembú Cattle-breeders.

country, several hamlets of Kánembú cattle-breeders, such as represented in the accompanying wood-cut, caused great relief and animation.

It was also interesting to observe the Búdduma, the pirate inhabitants of the islands of the lagune, busily employed in their peculiar occupation of obtaining salt from the ashes of the "siwák," or the *Capparis sodata*. Having rested during the hot hours of the day, we took up our quarters in the evening just beyond a temporary hamlet of these islanders; for although watchfulness, even here, was very necessary in order to guard against any thievish attempt, yet, in general, the Búdduma seem to be on good terms with the Tebu, with whom they appear to have stood in intimate political connection from ancient times.

[On the 26th of May Dr. Barth reached U'nghurutín.]

*Monday, May 28th.* Having spent the Sunday in U'nghurutín quietly, and indulging in some little repose, we started a little after midnight, and did not encamp till after a march of about fifteen miles. Another twelve miles in the afternoon, through a more open country, broken in the earlier part by a few specimens of the tree "símsim," brought us to the well Bedwáram, or Bélkashi-férri, where we encamped at the foot of the eastern eminence, choosing our ground with great care, as we were to recruit here our strength by a longer stay, the well being at present frequented by a number of that section of the Gunda tribe of Tebu which is called "Wándalá," or "Aussa;" for in general the well is by no means a safe retreat, and it seems to have been at this well, or in the neighborhood, that Corporal Macguire was slain last year when returning home after the report of the death of his chief, Mr. Vogel.

[Dr. Barth now proceeded as rapidly as possible, suffering considerably in passing through the dreary desert south of Fezzán; and he did not reach the border of that country till the 4th of July.]

Having made this day about eighteen miles, we reached the following day, after a moderate march of from nineteen to twenty miles, the southernmost solitary date-grove of Fezzán. Here we were so fortunate as to meet a small caravan of Tebu,

comprising a few very respectable men, who brought us the latest news from Múrzuk, where I was glad to hear that Mr. Frederick Warrington, the gentleman who had so kindly escorted me out of Tripoli more than five years previously, was awaiting me, and that the very governor who had been appointed to the government of Fezzán during our first stay there had a few days before again been reinstalled in that office.

*July 6th.* This was an important day in my journey, as, having performed the most dangerous part of this wearisome desert march, I reached Tegérri or Tejérri, the first outlying inhabited place of Fezzán. The village, although very small in itself, with its towering walls, the view of which burst suddenly upon us through the date-grove, made a most pleasing impression, and I could not prevent my people from expressing their delight in having successfully accomplished the by no means contemptible feat of traversing this desert tract with so small a band by firing a good number of shots. In consequence of this demonstration, the whole population of the little town came out to salute and congratulate me on having traversed this infested desert tract without any accident. But that was the only advantage that we reaped from having reached a place of settled habitation; and having taken up our encampment on the northwestern side of the kasr, among the date-trees, we had the greatest difficulty in procuring even the slightest luxury, and I was glad when I was at length able to obtain a single fowl and a few measures of dates. There was, therefore, no possibility of our staying here and allowing the animals a little rest, but we were obliged to push on without delay to the village of Madrúsa. But I had the greatest difficulty in reaching that place in the evening of the 8th, having lost another camel and one of my horses; and of the animals which remained to me, I was obliged to abandon in Madrúsa another, while I had to pay for the hire of a couple of camels to carry my luggage to Múrzuk.

This was the native place of my servant El Gatróni, who

had served me for nearly five years (with the exception of a year's leave of absence, which I granted him in order to see his wife and children) with the strictest fidelity, while his conduct had proved almost unexceptionable; and, of course, he was delighted to see his family again. Besides a good breakfast and a couple of fowls with which he treated me, he made me also a present of a bunch of grapes, which caused me no little delight as a most unusual treat. However, being anxious to get over this desert tract, I started a little after noon the same day, and met at the village of Bakhíl, about six miles beyond, a Tebu caravan, which was accompanied by a courier from Kúkawa, who had found an excuse in the state of the country to remain absent on his mission to Múrzuk nine months, instead of having retraced his steps directly to his own country. About four miles farther on we reached Gatrón, consisting of narrow groups lying closely together, and by the fringe of its date-grove contrasting very prettily with the sandy waste around.

Here also we were hospitably treated by the relatives of another servant, who was glad to have reached his home; and we encamped the following day at Dekír, where we had some trouble first in finding and then in digging out the well, which was entirely filled up with sand. In two very long days' stretches from here, the first including a night's march, we reached the well, two miles and a half this side of the village Bedán, when we heard that Mr. Warrington was encamped five miles beyond, in the village of Yesé.

*Saturday, July* 13*th.* Having got ready at an early hour, we proceeded cheerfully through the poor plantation, scattered thinly over a soil deeply impregnated with salt, and fired a few shots on approaching the comfortable tent of my friend. I could not but feel deeply affected when, after so long an absence, I again found myself in friendly hands, and within the reach of European comforts. Having moved on a little in the afternoon to a more pleasant spot, we entered Múrzuk the following morning, and were most honorably received by a great many

of the principal inhabitants, including an officer of the bashá, who had come out a great distance to meet us.

Thus I had again reached this place, where, under ordinary circumstances, all dangers and difficulties might be supposed to have ceased. But such was not the case at the present time; for, in consequence of the oppression of the Turkish government, a very serious revolution had broken out among the more independent tribes of the regency of Tripoli, extending from the Jebel over the whole of Gurián, and spreading farther and farther, cutting off all intercourse, and making my retreat very difficult. The instigator of this revolution was a chief of the name of Ghóma, who, having been made prisoner by the Turks many years before, had, through the events of the Crimean war, contrived to make his escape from confinement in Trebizond. This unforeseen circumstance caused me a little longer delay in Múrzuk than I should otherwise have allowed myself, as I was most anxious to proceed on my journey; nevertheless, I staid only six days.

Having some preparations to make for this last stage of my march, I had thus full opportunity of becoming aware of the immense difference in the prices of provisions between this outlying oasis of Northern Africa and Negroland, especially Kúkawa, and for the little supply which I wanted for my journey from here to Tripoli I had to pay as much as 100 makhbúbs. Besides procuring here my necessary supplies for the road, my chief business was in discharging some of my servants, and more particularly Mohammed el Gatróni, whose fidelity I have mentioned before. I added to the small remainder of his salary which I still owed him the stipulated present of fifty Spanish dollars, which I would willingly have doubled if I had had the means, as he well deserved it, for it is only with the most straightforward conduct and with a generous reward that a European traveller will be able to make his way in these regions.

As for encountering the dangers of the road, the arrangement of the bashá, that a party of soldiers whom he had dis-

charged, and who were returning home, should travel in my company, seemed rather of doubtful effect, as such a company, while it afforded a little more security in certain tracts, could not fail to turn against myself the disposition of the native population in those districts where the revolt against the Turkish government was a popular movement; I was obliged, therefore, to leave it to circumstances to decide how I should make my way out of these difficulties. The bashá for some time thought that the only safe course for me to pursue would be to turn my steps towards Ben-Gházi, in order to avoid the revolted district altogether; but such a plan seemed very objectionable, as well on account of the greater distance and expense of this road, as with regard to the disposition of the Arabs of that region, who, if the revolution should prove successful, would certainly not lose a moment in following the example of their brethren.

*July 20th.* I left the town of Múrzuk in the afternoon, and encamped in the plantation, and the next day moved on a short distance toward Sheggwa, where Mr. Warrington took leave of me. Halting then for the greater part of the following day near the village of Delém, and making a good stretch in the evening and early part of the morning, we reached Ghodwa, with its pretty plantation, and its many remains of former well-being. Starting again in the afternoon, and making a long stretch during the night, we encamped in the evening of the following day at the border of the plantation of Sebha, some twenty years ago the residence of the chief of the Welád Slímán. Here we staid the following day in order to obtain some rest. The heat all this time was very considerable, and the thermometer at two o'clock in the afternoon, on an average, indicated from 110° to 112°.

*July 26th.* A march of from eighteen to nineteen miles brought us from Sebha to the small town of Temáhint, and we encamped a little beyond the well, where a numerous herd of camels, belonging to a camp of Arabs, was being watered. I was greatly pestered during my halt by a number of Welád

Slímán, who were anxious for information with regard to their relations in Kánem, and greedy for some presents.

Making a short halt in the evening, and starting a little after midnight, we encamped the following day near Zíghen. Here I had to hire fresh camels in order to pursue my journey, and therefore did not set out again till the afternoon of the following day, when, through the barren desert tract by O'm el 'abíd, and by a very rugged mountainous passage, we reached the important town of Sókna in the morning of the 2d of August.

Here the difficulties of my journey, in consequence of the revolutionary state of the province, increased, and, after a long consultation with some friends to whom I had been recommended, the only possible way of proceeding was found to be that of leaving the usual track by way of Bónjem altogether, and taking an entirely different road by a series of valleys lying farther west, the road by Ben-Gházi also having been found impracticable. Sókna, even at the present time, is a very interesting place, as well on account of its mercantile activity and its fine plantations of date and other fruit trees, as owing to the peculiar character of its inhabitants, who still retain a distinct idiom of the Berber language; but at the present moment, on account of the total interruption of the communication with the coast, the price of provisions was very high, and the natives scarcely knew what political course to pursue. There was especially a merchant of the name of Beshála, who showed me an extraordinary degree of kindness and attention.

Having therefore waited until the arrival of the "rekás," or courier, in order to obtain the most recent news, and having, in consequence of their unfavorable tenor, been induced to increase the wages of my camel-drivers, whom I had hired previously, I at length got off on the 12th of August. Pursuing the track called Trík el Merhóma, which was never before traversed by a European, and passing by the wells El Hammám, El Maráti, Ershidíye, and Gedafíye, and then by the narrow Wádí Ghirza (the place once the great object of African re-

search for Lieutenant, now Admiral Smyth), with its interesting ancient sepulchres in the form of obelisks, we reached Wádí Zemzem on the 19th. Here there was a considerable encampment of Arabs, and some of the ringleaders of the revolution residing here at the time, I found myself in a serious dilemma. But the English were too much respected by these tribes for them to oppose my passage, although they told me plainly that, if they suspected that the English were opposed to the revolution, they would cut my throat, as well as that of any European traveller who might fall into their hands. However, after some quiet explanations with them as to what was most conducive to their own interests, and about the probability of their succeeding in making themselves independent of the Turkish sway, and after having promised a handsome present to one of the more influential men among them, they allowed me to pass on. I had also great difficulty in hiring some fresh camels, the safety of which I guaranteed, to take me to Tripoli. I thus pursued my journey to Beni-Ulíd, with its deep valley overtowered by the ruins of many a Middle Age castle, and adorned by numbers of beautiful olive-trees, besides being enlivened by many small villages consisting of stone dwellings half in decay. On approaching the place, I fell in with a messenger, sent very kindly to meet me by Mr. Reade, her majesty's vice-consul in Tripoli, who, besides a few letters, brought me what was most gratifying to me in my exhausted state, a bottle of wine, a luxury of which I had been deprived for so many years.

I had some little trouble in this place, as there was residing here at the time a brother of Ghóma, the rebel chief himself, who had sent an express messenger on my account; and differences of interest between the various chiefs of the place caused me at the same time some difficulties, though, in other respects, they facilitated my proceedings. Altogether I was very glad when I had left this turbulent little community behind me, which appeared to be the last difficulty that opposed itself to my return home.

In the evening of the fourth day after leaving Beni-Ulíd I reached the little oasis of 'Aín Zára, the same place where I had staid several days preparatory to my setting out on my long African wanderings, and was here most kindly received by Mr. Reade, who had come out of the town with his tent, and provided with sundry articles of European comfort, to receive me again at the threshold of civilization.

Having spent a cheerful evening in his company, I set out the following morning on my last march on the African soil, in order to enter the town of Tripoli; and although the impression made upon my mind by the rich vegetation of the gardens which surround the town, after the long journey through the desert waste, was very great, yet infinitely greater was the effect produced upon me by the wide expanse of the sea, which, in the bright sunshine of this intermediate zone, spread out with a tint of the darkest blue. I felt so grateful to Providence for having again reached in safety the border of this Mediterranean basin, the cradle of European civilization, which from an early period had formed the object of my earnest longings and most serious course of studies, that I would fain have alighted from my horse on the sea-beach to offer up a prayer of thanksgiving to the Almighty, who, with the most conspicuous mercy, had led me through the many dangers which surrounded my path, both from fanatical men and an unhealthy climate.

It was market-day, and the open place intervening between the plantation of the Meshíah and the town was full of life and bustle. The soldiers who had recently arrived from Europe to quell the revolution were drawn up on the beach in order to make an impression on the natives, and I observed a good many fine, sturdy men among them. Amid this busy scene in the most dazzling sunshine, with the open sea and the ships on my right, I entered the snow-white walls of the town, and was most kindly received by all my former friends.

Having staid four days in Tripoli, I embarked in a Turkish steamer which had brought the troops and was returning to

Malta, and having made only a short stay in that island, again embarked in a steamer for Marseilles, in order to reach England by the most direct route. Without making any stay in Paris, I arrived in London on the 6th of September, and was most kindly received by Lord Palmerston as well as by Lord Clarendon, who took the greatest interest in the remarkable success which had accompanied my proceedings.

Thus I closed my long and exhausting career as an African explorer, of which this narrative endeavors to incorporate the result. Having previously gained a good deal of experience of African travelling during an extensive journey through Barbary, I had embarked on this undertaking as a volunteer, under the most unfavorable circumstances for myself. The scale and the means of the mission seemed to be extremely limited, and it was only in consequence of the success which accompanied our proceedings that a wider extent was given to the range and objects of the expedition ;* and after its original leader had succumbed in his arduous task, instead of giving way to despair, I had continued in my career amid great embarrassment, carrying on the explorations of extensive regions almost without any means. And when the leadership of the mission, in consequence of the confidence of her majesty's government, was intrusted to me, and I had been deprived of the only European companion who remained with me, I resolved upon undertaking, with a very limited supply of means, a journey to the far west, in order to endeavor to reach Timbúktu, and to explore that part of the Niger which, through the untimely fate of Mungo Park, had remained unknown to the scientific world.

In this enterprise I succeeded to my utmost expectation, and not only made known the whole of that vast region, which even to the Arab merchants in general had remained more un-

* This greater success was especially due to the journey which I undertook to the Sultan of A'gades, thus restoring confidence in our little band, which had been entirely shaken by great reverses.

known than any other part of Africa,* but I succeeded also in establishing friendly relations with all the most powerful chiefs along the river up to that mysterious city itself. The whole of this was achieved, including the payment of the debts left by the former expedition, and £200 which I contributed myself, with the sum of about £1600. No doubt, even in the track which I myself pursued, I have left a good deal for my successors in this career to improve upon; but I have the satisfaction to feel that I have opened to the view of the scientific public of Europe a most extensive tract of the secluded African world, and not only made it tolerably known, but rendered the opening of a regular intercourse between Europeans and those regions possible.

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* "It appears singular that the country immediately to the eastward of Timbuctoo, as far as Kashna, should be more imperfectly known to the Moorish traders than the rest of Central Africa." — *Quarterly Review*, May, 1820, p. 234. Compare what Clapperton says about the dangers of the road from Sókoto to Timbúktu. Sec. Exped., p. 235.

THE END.

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